

# MID-AMERICA

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### Pedro Sánchez, Founder of the Jesuits in New Spain

#### I

"All this Kingdom ought to erect a statue of bronze here in the plaza of Mexico to Padre Doctor Pedro Sánchez to keep it in mind of its illustrious regenerator." Such was the public tribute paid by the two ranking dignitaries of New Spain, Don Martín Enríquez, Viceroy, and Don Pedro Moya de Contreras, Archbishop, to the founder and first provincial of the Jesuit Province of New Spain.<sup>1</sup> No monument of the kind suggested was ever reared in the colorful plaza of Mexico City to the educator who strove for some thirty years to establish college life in the land, but the memory of Pedro Sánchez lives in many old colonial structures and ruins, the remains of the educational and mission systems, which under his guidance or incentive came into being in the sixteenth century. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the time set high value upon the character and work of the prominent founder. In spite of changing values in the education of our twentieth century and varying estimates of earlier efforts, occasional tribute to pioneer educators should be welcome, especially since school teachers, professors, and students, legions in

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript "Vida de Padre Doctor Pedro Sánchez," page 215, in Mexican Province Archives, Tomo 8, Misc. This manuscript is part of a Ms. "Historia del Colegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Alcalá," running from page 202 to 232 in the compilation. It is very probably a copy of the *carta edificante* customarily sent to different Jesuit houses on the death of a father. It was written probably by Father Pedro de Morales, a contemporary of Sánchez and is evidently the basis of the "Vida" found in Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *Crónica y Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús de México*, Mexico, 1896, I, 316-329. Ribas was also a contemporary, but composing his work years after the death of Sánchez, obviously incorporated much of the Ms. Vida into his florid account. Morales is mentioned as the writer of the relation, Ribas, I, 328.

number, have such great part in the epic narrative of the gradual spread of cultural life over the vast Americas.

Pedro Sánchez was born of Spanish peasant stock, some thirty miles west of Madrid at San Martín de Valdeiglesias in the proud old Archbishopric of Toledo. The time of his birth was late in 1528 or early in 1529.<sup>2</sup> When he was nine or ten years of age he was given the opportunity to travel east beyond Madrid to study in the famed old university town of Alcalá de Henares. Here in accord with the old custom he was first placed with a group of lads of his age in a college, or hall, for beginners. Thereafter he passed through all the seminaries and colleges<sup>3</sup> one by one during the next twenty-three years of his life.<sup>4</sup> Who financed his long educational process? It may have been that he received a bursary from a bishop or from one of the wealthier citizens or from a college. The bursary would be a sum of money sufficient for his support given to the college, and the donor would be his sponsor. Poor boys who received no bursary did not live in a hall with collegians but were assigned to bachelor boarding-houses whose regulations were just as strict as those of the colleges.<sup>5</sup> At times such poorer students wandered about the town in bands singing for alms. Apparently Pedro did not suffer such want for he was among the sponsored *colegiales*, wearing the colorful garb distinctive of the particular residence in which he was placed.

Having completed his primary education Pedro followed the courses in Latin and rhetoric preparatory to his study of philosophy or arts. He was rewarded successively with each of the university degrees of the time. Students of those days had to give a public discourse before their examiners in order to be

<sup>2</sup> Jesuit historians are unnecessarily in conflict over the date of his birth. The Ms. Vida gives 1528. Ribas omits the date. Sánchez himself makes late 1528 more preferable; in answering the form questions of an *Examen*, or questionnaire, late in 1561 or early in 1562, he stated that he was 33 "almost four years in the Society"; he entered in 1558. The *Examen* is in *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* (hereinafter *MHSJ*), *Epistolae Nadal*, Madrid, 1898, I, 624, note. For the questionnaire and its background see Allan P. Farrell, S. J., *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education*, Milwaukee, 1938, 199-202. Of the first two catalogues of the Mexican Province in manuscript, which we have in photostat from the European Archives of the Society, one is obviously wrong: that of 1576 gives Sánchez's age as 48, while the one of 1580 gives it as 50. From internal evidence the 1576 catalogue was composed at least a year before it was dated. Further argument for 1528 as the birth date is given in the Ms. Vida and in Ribas, I, 329, for both state the age as 81 in 1609.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. Vida, 202, and Ribas, I, 317. He was in the *colegios menores* for grammar and arts, and in the *colegio mayor* for theology.

<sup>4</sup> *Examen* as cited in note 2 *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> Farrell, *The Jesuit Code*, Chapter IX, especially page 207, has the types of regulations pertaining to the Jesuit colleges.



awarded the bachelor's degree. The licentiate came after some years of teaching or reading philosophy and only after an examination which consisted in a successful disputation, or public act, followed by a learned discourse, and finally after an exhibition lecture before a tribunal of doctors all under oath to render just sentence on the candidate's qualifications. The examinee on the conclusion of his public ordeal was left with his thoughts until the verdict was given him next day. The highest award, the degree of doctor, was conferred only on such as were deemed eminently worthy, and it qualified a professor to teach in any university. Great solemnity surrounded the investiture of the doctor. The doctoral candidate had to give exhibition lectures before his critical peers; he then pronounced an elegant discourse before the faculties and students of the university; as soon as he returned to his seat after his oratorical effort, the students arose in the hall and in either elegant or inelegant Castilian or Latin verse ridiculed him, mimicing his natural defects. Pedro Sánchez had to undergo some such routines since he became licentiate, master of arts, and doctor, although much of the buffoonery may have been omitted at his last public display inasmuch as he was a theologian.

His noteworthy talent as a lecturer in arts and his ability as an orator coupled with proved scholarship gained the new doctor a professor's chair in the University of Alcalá. Presumably, his lectures followed customary paths. A book was assigned to the students, which the professor read and explained. If the book were very rare or costly, handwritten copies might be obtained from preceding generations or from nearby stalls. As soon as the hour of reading was finished the professor had to be "at his post"—near one of the pillars in the patio—to answer questions. Generally, the school term was of eleven months, beginning about October 18, feast of St. Luke, and terminating about September 8 of the following year. Doctors were given the best hours in the morning, and frequently had sessions in the afternoon, as did Doctor Pedro Sánchez.

Sánchez's academic rise culminated in the rectorship, the supreme honor of the University of Alcalá.<sup>6</sup> The usual procedure

<sup>6</sup> No dates are available for the conferring of the degrees, for the periods of study, or for the period of his rectorship. The above order is given in the Ms. Vida and in Ribas, I, 317. From the fact that he was priest and professor in May 1558 he would seem to have taken the professor's chair in 1557; therefore he was most likely rector for the period prior to October 1557. And, since according to the regulations of the University laid down by its reorganizer, Cardinal Ximénez, the one chosen for the rectorship had

was to elect the rector for a year at the opening of the term, but whether this was done directly by the students or indirectly by the councillors chosen by them is not clear in the case of Doctor Pedro. The faculty chose a chancellor to work with the rector for the year, while both students and faculty each elected ten councillors to aid the rector and chancellor in governing the institution. From all accounts the selection of Sánchez was agreeable to all, and his regimen, probably for the year 1556-1557, gave high satisfaction. On relinquishing the office he was returned to a professorship in philosophy, which occupied him even during his final preparations for his ordination to the priesthood. Sometime before May in 1558 he received holy orders.<sup>7</sup>

At the age of thirty the Padre Doctor was attractive in personality, tall of stature, solid though inclined to stoutness, robust of health, even-tempered, and above all affable to people of the sundry classes of Alcalá de Henares.<sup>8</sup> An obvious choice for the rectorship, he was looked upon by many as of episcopal stuff, a worthy candidate for the bishop's mitre because of his gracious presence, learning, and priestly dignity. A kindness and benignity shone forth from his thoughtful eyes. Ecclesiastical honors might well have been his had not the Jesuits crossed his path.<sup>9</sup>

## II

Some young men, it happened, were getting themselves much talked about by students and people of the town. These newcomers emerged daily from a hall<sup>10</sup> newly established as the Col-

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to be at least twenty-five years of age, Sánchez's term could not well have begun before 1554.

<sup>7</sup> Ms. Catalogue of the Mexican Province for 1580 gives 1558 as the date of his ordination and states "Diocese of Toledo," which indicates his status as a diocesan priest before his entrance into the Company.

<sup>8</sup> Mariano Cuevas, S. J., *Historia de la Iglesia en México*, El Paso, Texas, 1928, II, 332, has a print from one of the fine portraits of Sánchez in Mexico City.

<sup>9</sup> Ms. Vida, 203. The implication is that his elevation was almost certain. Character sketches of a more objective nature than those of Morales and Ribas may be found in *MHSJ*, Lainez, III, Rome, 1913, 278-279, and in the letter of Gaspar de Salazar as cited in note 11 *infra*.

<sup>10</sup> Antonio Astrain, S. J., *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, 7 volumes, Madrid, 1902-1925, I, 264. One of the homeliest men ever to enter the Society in those times had much to do with the origin of the Jesuit college of Alcalá, which grew to be the most important Jesuit center in all Spain (*Ibid.*, II, 38), and was of great influence upon the life of Sánchez. It was later the training school and the model for many American colleges of the Company. It happened that a shrewd, strong-willed rustic, named Villanueva after his birthplace, went to Rome, where he met Ignatius Loyola in 1541. He doggedly insisted on entering the new Order (*Ibid.*, I, 259-267). Despite his unprepossessing exterior and lack of educa-

lege of the Company of Jesus, and plodded forth to the lecture rooms wearing soutanes outstanding by reason of their antiquity. The Company had been approved as a religious order in 1540 by Pope Paul III. These young members at Alcalá still in their training period, as well as the fathers of the college, in all about forty, seemed completely at one in their intense zeal for the salvation of their neighbors. They spoke earnestly on spiritual topics to the townsfolk, and even to the faculty members. They became advisers of many. Doctor Sánchez soon became acquainted with the Jesuits. Their mode of life had been adopted by several of his students.<sup>11</sup> Even the master himself had leanings in the same direction, rumor had it. In 1558 rumor became fact. What particular Jesuit he knew, or what specific incentives he had, remain hidden from us, but he is reputed to have been inspired toward the missionary life by letters from fathers in the distant colonies. Sánchez had quietly plotted a course of life for himself, and when his decision was reached he entered the presence of the rector of the University of Alcalá to notify him of his resignation from the chair of philosophy.

The plans of Professor Sánchez for a very quiet exit from the halls of Alcalá and a very unobtrusive entrance into the ranks of the Jesuits went completely awry. Someone bruited his secret abroad. On May 12, 1558, when he emerged from his rooms for the final time, he found many members of the faculty, many of his students, and a throng of townspeople gathered to bid him farewell. Adieus were not sufficient. His well-wishers refused to leave him until the last moment, and hence he did not walk alone to the portals of the Jesuit residence. Learned and unlearned trooped with him. Arrived at the door, the learned doctor knelt before Father Manuel López to beg admission.<sup>12</sup> The throng awaited without whilst Sánchez went into the Jesuit church to offer himself for the work of the Company and to pledge obedi-

tion Ignatius admitted him, sending him to take care of the temporal concerns of the college of Coimbra. But after some time his talents were deemed capable of development, and so for reasons of study and health he was sent to Alcalá. There students were attracted to his lodging by his homely philosophy and deep religious outlook. Several wished to join him. By April of 1546 Villanueva, directed by Ignatius, had rented a house for four student Jesuits, who with himself formed the nucleus of the Jesuit college of Alcalá. In 1554 thirty-five poor Jesuits were attending the lectures while living in a new building purchased with a sum bestowed by a generous benefactor. Francisco de Villanueva was their superior, having been ordained in 1550. Professors and students of the University constantly sought his advice. He died at 48 on May 6, 1557 (*Ibid.*, II, 39).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 63-64, Letter of Father Gaspar de Salazar. Cf. Philip Alegambe, S. J., *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, Antwerpt, 1643, 397.

<sup>12</sup> *MHSJ, Litterae Quadrimestrae*, V, Madrid, 1921, 724.

ence to the rules and constitutions of Ignatius Loyola. As an earnest of his willingness, he volunteered to be cook or office boy if he were ordered. Thereafter he returned to the doorway to address his farewell to his friends. The event proved especially inspiring to two of his students, Juan Curiel and Juan Sánchez, who followed their master into the Order and in time accompanied him to Mexico.<sup>13</sup>

Pedro was sent to Simancas, a suburb of Valladolid, for his probation in the Jesuit novitiate. Because of his priesthood, the usual procedure for novices was waived, for according to the record he made his vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience immediately upon his entrance, and then had a probationary period of only fifty days, instead of one or more years of novitiate life. His master of novices was Father Gerónimo Rúiz del Portillo, who later became the first Jesuit provincial of the Province of Peru and led the first Spanish contingent to South America. Residing in the same house with him was Father Borgia, former Duke of Gandia, who became general of the Society and made the appointments of Portillo and Sánchez as provincials to the Americas.

At the termination of his brief training, during which time he was looked upon as a beloved pastor by the younger novices, Sánchez was sent back to Alcalá at the request of his former students.<sup>14</sup> Pedro had picked up and left them in the midst of a lecture course in philosophy, which they now wished him to finish. Petitions of theirs to this effect were successful, and so the Padre Doctor found himself back in familiar surroundings for the year 1558-1559.

While he was completing his lectures, the Jesuits were preparing to begin teaching in Valladolid. Doctor Sánchez was chosen to be professor of theology and took up his new duties in 1559, perhaps in October, being the first of a long list of Jesuits to teach in what became a very prominent college.<sup>15</sup> By

<sup>13</sup> Astrain, I, 267. Juan Sánchez, while still in his studies in Mexico, wrote the first chronicle of Jesuit affairs in New Spain; cf. J. V. Jacobsen, S. J., *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain*, Berkeley, California, 1938, 242. Juan Curiel became rector of the Jesuit college in Pátzcuaro, where he died of the plague in 1576, *ibid.*, 114.

<sup>14</sup> Ribas, I, 318, follows the Ms. Vida, 205-206, almost verbatim for this. Alegambe, *Bibliotheca*, 398, remarks about the perfection with which Pedro performed his probationary duties.

<sup>15</sup> The College of San Antonio belonging to the Jesuits in Valladolid was an old building occupied for years by students attending the University lectures, Astrain, II, 234-235. Father Pedro Ribadeneira, writing on the foundations of colleges in the Province of Castile, says the teaching of theology began in Valladolid in 1563, *ibid.*, 235. This statement, though by a



March of 1560 the studies were going well. The Jesuit students and some religious from the other colleges listened to Sánchez for an hour in the morning in the Jesuit house and then repaired to the College of San Gregorio, which was in charge of the Dominicans, for the other lecture.<sup>16</sup> Twenty-six Jesuits were residing in the new foundation at the time, ten of them priests. Academically, Sánchez's most outstanding achievement during this time was his "grand act," a public defense of theological subjects before the faculties of the University of Valladolid, the religious of the colleges, and the student bodies.<sup>17</sup> Few details of the affair have come down to us, but his exposition of divers theses chosen at random by professors and the responses made to his antagonists in the debate afforded great satisfaction to all hearers.

In the city itself during his stay until 1565 his activities extended beyond the confines of the lecture halls. His natural energy and his new-found zeal for religious perfection carried him to greater heights as a pulpit orator. He shirked none of the more trying occupations of the priesthood; he heard the confessions of the poor or better classes; he appeared regularly in the primary schools to instruct children in their catechism; for the diocesan clergy and religious of the vicinity, about 200 in number, he conducted classes in moral theology and explained the principles for solving cases of conscience which they might encounter; he instructed slaves and other forsaken people of the community; he begged alms and foods for the sick in the hospitals, and personally consoled the afflicted, even during plagues.<sup>18</sup> At times of recesses from lectures, as during Holy Week and summer vacation, he gave retreats, or made his own spiritual exercises. His conduct in whatever form was so exemplary that the provincial, Antonio Araoz, recommended him to Laínez, for

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contemporary, is not in accord with the official documents cited immediately below, which have Sánchez reading in Valladolid in January 1561.

<sup>16</sup> *MHSJ, Litt. Quad.*, VI, 565; VII, 58; and *Lainez*, VII, 297.

<sup>17</sup> *MHSJ, Lainez*, IV, 613, letter of Araoz to Laínez, January 7, 1560, says the "grand act" was held before Franciscan and Dominican scholars. The act was made probably on January 1.

<sup>18</sup> These general details have been gleaned from the Ms. Vida and from *MHSJ, Litt. Quad.*, VII, 275, 713, and *Lainez*, VII, 297. Visiting the hospitals appears to us a simple and charitable act, but it meant in reality aiding the plague-stricken in pest-houses, for a series of plagues swept the cities of Spain from 1558 to 1572, and these took the lives of a number of Jesuits, some of whom had been assigned to hospital work. As for ministries engaging the fathers see Astrain, II, 524-552; and *ibid.*, II, 589, is the document containing the statement about the class in moral theology.

the profession of four vows, even though he had been in the Society only five years.<sup>19</sup>

His reputation as a theologian brought him into demand elsewhere than in Valladolid. The Archbishop of Santiago de Galicia had summoned a provincial council.<sup>20</sup> The prelates were to congregate in the University of Salamanca in 1565. The Jesuit superiors were asked to send a representative and they ordered Pedro Sánchez to take part in the deliberations. Details of what transpired have not come down to us, but the learned priest's opinions were well received by the dignitaries who were well aware of his renown in the old university. Outside the council halls during the moments between sessions, the learned one was seen occupied in tasks calculated to be efficacious against any surgings of pride within him, such as digging in the dust and mud like an ordinary laborer and helping to repair the Jesuit house. Whatever the nobility and dignitaries may have thought of such work and its demeaning possibilities, it makes Pedro stand out to us as a man who had common sense enough to take exercise. Very likely he paid no attention to edified onlookers, any more than he did later in America when he wielded a shovel where new buildings were being erected.<sup>21</sup>

Prestige had its drawbacks. Shortly after the council disbanded and apparently while he was still in Salamanca word came from Rome to Sánchez that he was to remain in the city as rector of the Jesuit college. In preparation for the responsibilities of this office and for his profession,<sup>22</sup> with the permission of his superiors, he made a long pilgrimage afoot, carrying nothing with him, begging his food and lodging on his way to and from the shrine of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, somewhat more than

<sup>19</sup> *MHSJ, Láinez*, VII, 574, Araoz to Láinez, January 30, 1564. Later seventeen years of religious life in the Order were required before admission to the profession of four vows.

<sup>20</sup> The Provincial Council of Salamanca was held in 1565, according to a chart in *España*, Hijos de J. Espasa, Editores, Barcelona, 1925, 767. Pedro Sánchez was given some office by Cardinal Crivelli at this time, for Francis Borgia thanked the Cardinal for this in a letter dated July 28, 1565, in *MHSJ, Borgia*, IV, 26.

<sup>21</sup> *Ms. Vida*, 207.

<sup>22</sup> When Sánchez was recommended for the profession in January 1564, Láinez ordered that he be professed, *MHSJ, Láinez*, IV, 650, Láinez to Araoz, March 31, 1564. The *Ms. Catalogues of the Mexican Province* are at variance regarding the actual date of his profession, the one of 1576 stating it was June 15, 1567, and the one of 1580 giving July 10, 1567. Even the year may be wrong, since there was no reason for a delay of three years in a matter so important to the Jesuits. The *Catalogues* mention Father Carillo as the provincial accepting the said vows. Carillo did not assume his office until the end of 1565 when he and three other provincials were installed, *Astrain*, II, 454, 261.



a hundred miles south of Salamanca. The spectacle of pilgrims of his type on similar journeys was not unusual in Spain, but there is no record of the length of time Sánchez spent en route. Nor is it certain just when he returned for his profession and rectorship, although the years 1565 to 1568 seem to fit his first incumbency.<sup>23</sup> Whatever the opening date it was the beginning of about fifteen consecutive years as a superior. As Láinez died in January of 1565, Francis Borgia, elected general of the Company on July 2 of the same year,<sup>24</sup> very likely made the appointment.

Francis Borgia was inaugurating a series of important measures at the outset of his régime. His interest in foreign missions soon evinced itself in the designation of Fathers Rúiz del Portillo and Rogel for the evangelization of Florida, as will be explained later. For the urgent matter of improving conditions in Jesuit houses on the Iberian Peninsula, Borgia was particularly fitted by reason of his former position as *commissarius*, or general overseer, of all Hispanic provinces. He had destined Alcalá and Salamanca as centers of Jesuit training and education.<sup>25</sup> Since the recent Council of Trent had made regulations with respect to seminary life, Láinez and Borgia were bent upon having scholarly administrators in these renowned seats of learning. Perhaps this explains the choice of Sánchez. The rectors of all colleges were ordered to obtain sufficient incomes to support masters and to provide proper food and accommodations for students.<sup>26</sup>

Sánchez found the college of Salamanca heavily in debt, lacking in rentals for its sustenance, and unable to provide suitable food for the Jesuit students.<sup>27</sup> The problem was promptly attacked. He begged aid from well-to-do citizens, gradually setting aside sufficient amounts to liquidate the indebtedness almost entirely while at the same time caring well for the wants of his

<sup>23</sup> The beginning of Sánchez's rectorship at Salamanca may be put at 1565 for several reasons. Father Bartolomé Hernández was rector there as late as September 1564. Láinez wrote to Araoz September 11, 1564, telling him to change rectors at Salamanca, since the regular three year term of office was long finished, *MHSJ, Láinez, VIII, 202*; cf. also *Borgia, IV, 631*. Hernández is next mentioned by Polanco, Borgia's secretary, on August 10, 1565, *Borgia, IV, 43*; he is here appointed as one of the chaplains about to accompany the soldiers at war with the Turks. Sánchez apparently had been appointed rector prior to this last date. In 1566 Hernández was rector of the Jesuit house at Burgos, *Borgia, IV, 339-340*, and later was assigned to the Province of Peru.

<sup>24</sup> Astrain, II, 217. Shortly after this Borgia wrote to Cardinal Crivelli thanking him for some embarrassment he had saved Sánchez, *Borgia, IV, 26*.

<sup>25</sup> Astrain, II, 220.

<sup>26</sup> Astrain, II, 222.

<sup>27</sup> *MHSJ, Láinez, VIII, 253*, Láinez to Juan Suárez, October 17, 1564; cf. *MHSJ, Borgia, IV, 52*.

subjects in food, relaxation, and medicine. Although he was ever strict upon himself in diet and constantly devoted to prayer, the rector in no wise drove the younger members of the Order severely to a higher level of fidelity to regulations, but rather led them and inspired them as a true father to his household. He revived a failing spirit of energetic study and made cheerfulness prevail. The young Jesuits, sitting in at lectures with college students, were allowed to mingle more freely with them, and as a result a great number of vocations to the Society followed.<sup>28</sup>

Yet, despite the efforts of Sánchez the machinery of government in the Jesuit Order was not at this time complete, and, in fact, was creaking in places. The provincial, Carillo, having moulded himself along austere lines was too strict with his Province of Castile. There was danger at the time to the well-being of the Company in Spain because of strong leanings toward undue conservatism. Moreover, details of organization, a plan of studies, and codification of regulations for community life were in progress at Borgia's behests. Domestic tranquility was essential to developments of missions and education.

Under the circumstances it seemed necessary to call a provincial congregation and to appoint visitors for Spain. Father Gil González Dávila was selected as *visitador* for Castile, while the congregation of fathers, Sánchez among them, assembled in the *casa profesa* of Valladolid from Easter until Pentecost Sunday of 1568. At its conclusion Sánchez accompanied Gil González during his inspection of residences and colleges, which was not completed until October.<sup>29</sup> Two more likable personalities could not have been appointed. In the visitation and in the subsequent happy adjustments Sánchez played no small part. His judgment of the actions of the visitor and of prevailing conditions apparently was carefully weighed by Borgia, for among other things Sánchez recommended Gil González Dávila for provincial, and forthwith the appointment was made. Sánchez himself acquired great experience in administrative affairs, crystalizing in a practical manner his ideas of the purposes and spirit of the Society, and acquainting himself widely with its membership. Moreover, he contributed his ideas toward a solution of many vexing problems. Dávila, a "mozo," as he called himself in 1568, went on to become one of the outstanding superiors of the Spanish assis-

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, IV, 433; *Lainez*, VIII, 232; *Astrain*, II, 245, 246.

<sup>29</sup> For this section see *Astrain*, II, 266-267.

tancy and was one of the twelve fathers selected to formulate the *Ratio Studiorum*.<sup>30</sup> Finally, as for Doctor Sánchez, he was appointed rector of the Jesuit College of Alcalá.<sup>31</sup>

The new rector of Alcalá took over at the beginning of 1569 the burden of debt characteristic of Jesuit colleges. Apparently he had administered well in Salamanca. Although this new post was one of responsibility and honor, its financial status was such as to bring frowns of worry to the brow of an economist. Pedro did not worry, for like the saintly Borgia he had a steady trust in Providence. Back in the city of his youth, it became increasingly clear that he had lost none of the affection and esteem of former days. He won new friends by his preaching and ministries. Contributions came for the support of the college, and he was thus able once more to pay off a large part of the debts.<sup>32</sup> Thus his years from 1565 until 1571 were spent in valuable service to the two outstanding colleges of the Jesuits in Spain. Before his term as rector at Alcalá expired he was given an opportunity to display his talents for organization and government on a large scale in a magnificent venture which Francis Borgia had got under way in the New World. He was appointed provincial of the newly created Province of New Spain, destined to build there colleges modeled on Salamanca and Alcalá, which were to be seats of learning for generations of youths of Spanish America.

### III

The Jesuits from their very foundation had been interested in foreign missions, owing especially to the labors of St. Francis Xavier in India. In his time Pedro Sánchez also conceived a desire to partake in the program of overseas evangelization. While Xavier was building missions in India, King John III of Portugal requested members to carry their twofold occupations of education and christianization to Brazil, wherefore Manuel da Nóbrega was sent in 1549 to that field. There within five years he had organized an independent province of the Company with both college foundations and missions in operations. Some Spanish fathers joined in the India and Brazilian enterprises; to others, letters from the foreign fronts proved highly inspiring. Requests began to go to Spain and Rome for Jesuit workers for the Span-

<sup>30</sup> Astrain, IV, 738-742, 2, 8.

<sup>31</sup> Alegambe, 398, says he began his rectorship in 1569.

<sup>32</sup> Neither college of Salamanca nor Alcalá were endowed until after Sánchez's time, Astrain, III, Chapter II.

ish lands of the two Americas, but, although Francis Borgia as *commissarius* of Spain and Portugal was favorably inclined, men were lacking.

It was not until the spring of 1565 that Borgia, as vicar general of the Jesuits, moved by an appeal of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, made his first appointments.<sup>33</sup> Menéndez who had been entrusted with the reconquest of Florida from the French corsairs, had very extensive if incoherent plans for the opening of the vast southeastern section of North America. Having heard of the young Order he petitioned Borgia, holding out the tempting bait that the field was wonderful and very near, even joined to "Tartary, China, . . . and Moluco,"<sup>34</sup> general goals of missionary dreams. Borgia commissioned Fathers Rúiz del Portillo and Juan Rogel to sail for the mission. They could not make the fleet leaving in 1565. During the wait, in March 1566, Philip II, urged vicariously by Menéndez, asked for twenty-four Jesuits. In May of that year Father Pedro Martínez as superior departed with Rogel and Brother Villarreal.<sup>35</sup> Martínez was slain in the early autumn, just about the time Portillo was appointed superior of all the Jesuits going anywhere in the Americas. In 1567 Philip again requested Jesuits for Florida and for Peru. Thereupon, Portillo was made provincial of a tremendous territory extending from Florida to Chile, in fine, all Spanish colonial America.<sup>36</sup> It was called the Province of Peru. He set about gathering men for the Americas. He appointed Father Bautista Segura as superior of the Florida region, denominating it a vice-province of Peru. On November 2, 1567, he sailed for Lima, via Panama. In March of 1568 Segura left for Florida—and martyrdom.<sup>37</sup> Florida be-

<sup>33</sup> *MHSJ, Borgia*, III, 798, Borgia to Rector of Madrid, May 12, 1565; *ibid.*, 797, Borgia to those going to Florida, same date.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 762, Pedro Menéndez to Borgia, March 1565.

<sup>35</sup> For a general account and documents on this see Ruben Vargas Ugarte, S. J., "The First Jesuit Mission in Florida," *Historical Records and Studies*, United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1935, Vol. XXV, 59-148.

<sup>36</sup> *MHSJ, Polanco Complementa*, II, 666-667; *MHSJ, Nadal*, III, 407. Portillo was told to send two to New Spain, *ibid.*, *Borgia*, IV, 431-432. After hearing of the martyrdom (in a wide sense) of Martínez, Borgia was bent upon sending men to Florida or New Spain; the land was blessed, Borgia thought, but he wanted his men to be "not only animated by the desire of death but careful to preserve life in order the better to be employed in the service of God" (*Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). Portillo was decidedly opposed to the Florida enterprise, as his letters to Borgia show. See *MHSJ, Borgia*, IV, 486, 495, 514, three letters of 1567.

<sup>37</sup> Astrain, II, 292, 307-308, and Francisco Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, Mexico, 1842, I, 17, seem to confuse these two expeditions; Francisco Sacchini, *Historiae Societatis Jesu Pars Tertia*, Rome, 1649, 149, 200, has them distinct.

came an episode and by 1573 had dropped out of the ken of Jesuit activities.

El Doctor Pedro Sánchez was quite aware of the American *entradas* of the Society. Glowing accounts of the new field of labor were a source of inspiration to many of the Spanish fathers. His former master of novices away off in Peru was under instructions to build his province well. When Portillo had surveyed the scene in all its immensity, he arranged for new expeditions to the land of the Incas, which were soon forthcoming. But Portillo had no enthusiasm for either Menéndez or the prospects for missionary work among the forbidding Florida tribes, and hence emphasized the possibilities for progress among the more civilized natives. By 1571, when there were forty-four Jesuits in the College of Lima, his worst fears about Florida were confirmed by the martyrdom of the Segura band somewhere near the Rappahannock River. It was time for the Jesuits to go beyond resentful Florida to the cities of New Spain. King, viceroy, prelates, and citizens had been writing for fathers who might care for the youth, preach, and evangelize. Borgia then saw the futility of Florida,<sup>38</sup> recognized the needs of New Spain, and on July 15, 1571, he chose Father Sánchez for provincial.<sup>39</sup>

The rector of Alcalá took his marching orders like a soldier. He immediately began his preparations. That very evening he went out to the little mountain villa, Jesús del Monte, where all were gathered for a respite from the heat of Alcalá. There he broke the news to his community. As an instance of the veneration in which he was held it may be noted that his household was in consternation. But the rector, telling the brethren "I am no longer Pedro Sánchez but Pedro Mexicano," laughed away what others heard with grief, "for it was apparent that the college and province was losing a very valuable and beloved son, one on whom many hopes for progress in scholarship and virtue were pinned."<sup>40</sup> In the morning he was off for Guadalajara, taking with him a few happy fellow-appointees and leaving many envious ones behind. Other chosen companions resident in different cities were notified to gather in Seville.

<sup>38</sup> *MHSJ, Borgia, V, 571*, Borgia to Menéndez, March 20, 1571. Here Borgia tells Menéndez the bald truth about his Florida enterprise, in which the Jesuits labored without fruit in a terrible place. The cédula of Philip II to the Castile provincial, Manuel López, asking Jesuits for New Spain is in Alegre, I, 45.

<sup>39</sup> Alegre, I, 46, gives the letter. Sánchez had been recommended for a provincialate by Father Juan Bravo in February 1571, *MHSJ, Borgia, V, 560*.

<sup>40</sup> Ribas, I, 320.



From Guadalajara he made his way to Madrid, there to be received at court. Philip II tendered him a warm welcome, happy to have so notable a Jesuit going to his kingdom of the Indies.<sup>41</sup> Despatches and orders were hastily drawn up for the Council of the Indies, the House of Trade, and the viceroy of New Spain, in order to expedite matters pertaining to transport, lodging, food, and raiment.<sup>42</sup> When everything was arranged, the provincial armed with many official papers departed for Seville, where his cohort anxiously waited ready to embark on the fleet. He arrived on August 10, 1571, and was greeted by the other twelve of his province. To one just finished with his adieus to the Old World and looking forward to a trip to the New some dismaying information was promptly forthcoming. The fleet had set sail only that day!

Perhaps the tardiness of the provincial caused some disedification, and perhaps it did not, since in thus being late he continued a custom established by Nóbrega and Portillo. Nor did the number of Jesuits, thirteen, have anything to do with their bad luck, for the same fleet on its approach to the Mexican port of entry was almost entirely destroyed by a furious gale. The majority of the stranded Jesuits, now without means of support, were sustained as guests of the noble Señora Condesa de Niebla for their entire stay at San Lúcar de Barremeda. Their spirits momentarily picked up when they learned that the *Galeones* of Pedro Menéndez were to depart in January of 1572. By kingly permission all were allowed passage on one ship, the *San Felipe*, but before sailing time arrived some interested friends had persuaded them not to go on the boat because it was to make a roundabout trip. The *San Felipe* was lost with every soul aboard.<sup>43</sup>

While waiting for transportation Father Sánchez made an excursion from Seville to Madrid to see Francis Borgia who had come to Spain as a companion of Cardinal of Alexandria. The general and the provincial talked of the procedure to be adopted in the new land. Some changes were made in the personnel of

<sup>41</sup> Alegre, I, 47-48.

<sup>42</sup> Astrain, II, 300-301.

<sup>43</sup> The information in these paragraphs is drawn from *MHSJ, Borgia*, V, 631, 625; Ribas, I, 16-19, 320-322; Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations*, Chapter IV. Some minor details of the journey are added from a contemporary manuscript "Historia de las Cosas mas Dignas de Memoria . . . de la Compañía de Jesús en esta Provincia y Reynos de Nueva España: Decada Primera," Chapter 11. This manuscript covers in a general way the first ten years of Jesuit activity in Florida and Mexico; we have it in photostat from the European Archives. It was written before 1598 by one of the Jesuits in Mexico.



the thirteen and the number was augmented by two from Spain. Apparently at this time Sánchez was given jurisdiction over the Florida group of six (two priests, two lay-brothers, and two novices), for he was commissioned to act as visitor to the area. Clearly he could not be inspecting Havana and Florida and at the same time be building in Mexico, and consequently Sánchez deputed Father Antonio Sedeño to make the visitation. Furthermore, Sedeño was told to repair as soon as possible to Mexico to arrange for lodgings and to announce the coming of the Jesuits to the viceroy. Incidentally, Borgia contributed out of his alms 200 ducats for books, the opening donation toward the large Jesuit library of Mexico City. Sánchez having finished his business returned with the general's blessing to the Jesuit college of Seville.

#### IV

The Jesuits under Sánchez after their long wait were finally on the wharves as part of one of the most stirring scenes in all the pageantry of colonial times. Twice a year the fleet and the galleons of Spain weighed anchor and passed down the Guadalquivir River into the ocean, loaded with colonists, officials, commodities, animals, and passengers, cleared for the fairs and cities of Spain's western empire. At any sailing the gamut of human emotions was run—the enthusiasm of the adventurer, the determination of the merchant, the trepidation of the colonizer, the expectancy of the missionary. Whether the Jesuits felt the heartaches of departure from homeland or shared the common fear of storms and pirates cannot be stated with certainty. The Jesuits gathered for the embarkation on June 13, 1572, were eight priests, three unordained students of theology, and four coadjutor brothers.

Among the well-wishers was the Duke of Sidonia who had a very great liking for the provincial. While Sánchez was tarrying in Seville the Duke tried unsuccessfully to dissuade him from going west, only to end up by bestowing many valuable gifts upon the group, money to insure good care, ornaments for the church they would build. He accompanied Sánchez to the anchorages, but evidently did not have complete confidence in the navigator of the boats, for in his apprehensiveness lest the Jesuits might be run aground on the old sand bar of San Lúcar he ordered out his own tender to carry them down the river for embarkation below the obstruction.

Before the ship was far out on the high seas Sánchez and his companions had given it the aspect of a floating chapel, what with dispensing religious instruction to passengers and crew and carrying on religious exercises as regularly as the bells. The first port of call was the Grand Canary. In the vicinity of the Canaries forty Jesuits en route to Brazil had been slain by pirates in 1570 and five more in 1571. Now in 1572 those on the way to New Spain may have looked upon the islands with misgivings or with anticipation of shedding their blood. If such were the different sentiments of Sánchez's group there was disappointment all around three days afterwards, when the ships once again safely put out into the deep. The three days were spent profitably by the fathers in preaching to the people and in hearing confessions. On the material side the Jesuits packed aboard a number of books for their library. These had been bequeathed them by the late bishop prior to his death in memory of salutary missionary work done by Father Diego López, the rector of the Mexican house-to-be, on an earlier visit.

Surely voyagers of those days were grateful for small favors. The three months' trip of this particular fleet afforded cause for deep gratitude in that no violent storm wrecked the craft and nobody in the whole fleet died of a pestilence which broke out in mid-ocean. Discomforts long since removed from travel by our machine age were ordinary events of the day for people having their precarious being on a sixteenth-century caravel or merchantman. Although a sum of 2,000 ducats had been sent to Spain by an Alonzo Villaseca of Mexico to defray the Jesuits' expenses of travel, King Philip II dispensed with this gratuity, preferring to have the fathers depend upon his royal munificence. The quality of the said munificence seems not to have been strained, since six of the future educators were crowded into one room, while each was given a slim wardrobe consisting of one black duster, a mattress, a bolster, a blanket, to say nothing of one and a half reals of silver (seven or eight cents) for food.<sup>44</sup> Still, high in hopes the party made the second port of call at Ocoa on Cuba, and on September 9 all arrived happily at the old city of Vera Cruz. They were greeted by Father Sedeño, Brother Salcedo, and a delegation of townsmen.

The sea-weary Black Robes were hard put to it avoiding receptions and cordial invitations springing from civic pride. The people and some of the wealthier merchants, who had residences

<sup>44</sup> Cuevas, *Historia de la Iglesia en México*, II, 328.

outside the coastal city (a place much disliked, by the way, for its pestilential airs) wished the Jesuits to take up their abode with them. A deputy from the *Inquisidor* of Mexico City was on hand to prepare a stately caravan to assure comfortable travel. An entourage of this type, however, did not appeal to Sánchez's sense of poverty and modesty. Moreover, the royal officials of the port had been charged by the king to see to the needs of the journey. Somehow the king's orders were not accompanied by funds, and hence Sánchez chartered a pack train of mules to carry the library, the bundles, and even the *padres* whenever one felt inclined to assume an ill-fitting perch between packages adorning the animals.

The way was some 200 miles into the highlands. It led first to Puebla de los Angeles, where on September 21 the wayfarers were greeted by an enthusiastic gathering of townsfolk, gentry, and clergy. Embarrassment overcame the Jesuits thus being hailed as conquerors by a festive-minded city. Notables begged Sánchez to open a college. Shelter was offered, and accepted for one father who had been stricken ill. But the provincial as soon as his band was rested pushed on until the sight of the North American metropolis greeted his eyes. Then there was a delay until night could cloak the entry of his band against further civic demonstrations. On September 28, 1572, he led his province to the Hospital de Jesús where Sedeño had made arrangements for lodging. The next day Sánchez officially presented his credentials to the Viceroy and the Archbishop and then allowed demonstrations of hospitality to run their course.

## V

Once on the scene of his great triumph Doctor Pedro Sánchez began to meet, to estimate, and to solve numerous problems of adjustment to environment and of provincial organization. He was in the prime of life, vigorous in health, anxious to work at his task, but neither over-cautious nor over-enthusiastic. His Province of New Spain was vast in territory, limited in manpower, and altogether lacking in buildings and physical equipment. His first major objective was the establishment of a Jesuit center of activity in the capital of the New World. This would be a large building with rooms for the Jesuits and lecture halls for college students. Other halls or colleges for lodging students with bursaries would have to be founded in the vicinity, just as at Alcalá and Salamanca. He planned according to instructions

from Borgia to wait two years before embarking on the teaching program. From this firmly laid center the Jesuit system of education would extend college by college to other cities of the land. Thus Sánchez outlined his general campaign and then proceeded to attack specific problems.

Letters recording the lack of college facilities for the youth of New Spain clearly revealed the need of a systematized attack on ignorance. So convinced were parents and officials of the dangers accruing because of the moral and intellectual neglect of the Spanish and creole youths in Mexico and other cities of the kingdom, that they hailed with great joy and confidence the leader who could formulate educational policies for their own and future generations. Consequently, the idea of Jesuit education had been "sold" to New Spain before the fathers ever arrived. The good will of the citizens toward the Jesuits was enhanced by the general's selection of Sánchez and others of ability. Sánchez's main concern was checking the impatience of those who wished to establish a college at the very sight of a Jesuit. He was properly on his guard against white elephants. The king had instructed him to tell all petitioners that their wishes would be granted in due time.

It would have been impossible for Sánchez to begin a college immediately in Mexico City, first because his entire troop of Jesuits became ill of yellow fever and remained confined in the hospitals of Mexico and Santa Fé, some for more than a month. Father Bazán died at the end of October. The three scholastics were sent to the Dominican house of studies for their final year of theology before ordination. Two recently ordained fathers were completing their tertianship and were not fully available for teaching. Besides, the province had neither habitat nor classrooms. Viceroy Enríquez made no move to give land or buildings, the fault being not his but His Majesty's. The king for all his prerogatives as Royal Patron of the Church, in spite of his expressions of affection for the Company, gave nothing toward the foundation of the Jesuit college.<sup>45</sup> Neither did his officials. Financially

<sup>45</sup> Cuevas, II, 333. The Jesuit historians of colonial times, Ribas, Florencia, and Alegre, regularly praised the Spanish kings for their good will toward the Company and were careful to indicate each time royal expressions favorable to the Jesuits were written; they tactfully omit mentioning royal neglect in the matter of financial support. If the kings had contributed anything to the Jesuits, the historians would have been considerably in a dither about the gift or allotment. The Archivo General of Mexico City and the Biblioteca Nacional have *legajo* after *legajo* of financial statements of the various convents, churches, schools, and colleges which would repay the

the king had practically no part in the foundation of the Jesuit educational system which later evolved. His contribution terminated with the meagre outfitting of the first members who came to Mexico. The small amount given by him in 1583 to San Ildefonso College cannot be said to have been a contribution to the Jesuits, for it went toward the support of a distinct collegial group. The actions of Sánchez as to financial matters leave the impression of his awareness that he could not depend on the royal coffers for any substantial support.<sup>46</sup>

The housing problem was solved at the end of 1572. A description of the characters and events illustrates the method by which each link in the chain of Jesuit colleges throughout the Americas was founded economically. Mexico City had some of the four-score of Jesuit colleges in the New World. It had also a founder outstanding among a hundred of his type. A man of the mines, wealthy, elderly Alonzo Villaseca, became the object of undying gratitude on the part of the Jesuits by reason of his few words and generous action. The sons of Ignatius have left him enshrined in the pages of their histories as the great benefactor, adviser, and financial founder of the Jesuit stronghold of education in Mexico.

Alonzo was born into a rich family living at Arsisola in Spain, not far from the place where Pedro Sánchez was born poor.<sup>47</sup> He came to New Spain at an early age for purposes of gentleman farming and mining. He invested his money profitably in both enterprises. For a wife he chose Francisca Morón, an heiress whose riches were estimated by *haciendas* and herds. On one *hacienda* alone 20,000 yearlings were branded annually. All investments seemed to turn to gold at the touch of Alonzo, new lands proving suddenly fertile, products of new mines assaying high. He and Francisca then came to be rated as possibly the richest people in all the Americas. Alonzo cared little for his vast riches and had less opportunity to spend them. Secretly and by pious subterfuges he bestowed alms on the poor, "por el amor de Dios." His benefactors in New Spain were uncountable. They extended far beyond Mexico, even to Pope Pius IV for the build-

investigation of one who wished to know who in reality supported parish, mission, and education in the colonies.

<sup>46</sup> In a letter to the king dated December 12, 1572, published in Astrain, II, 303, Sánchez thanks His Majesty for the good accommodations given his province by land and sea. The provincial therefore delayed three months before writing his thanks; meantime alms had taken care of the Jesuits.

<sup>47</sup> Ribas, I, 83-86, has a chapter on "the notable virtues, death, and funeral of the noble and pious caballero." Alegre, I, 175-177, concurs with the preceding.



ing of San Pedro in Rome, to the poor of the Holy City, to the Isle of Rhodes for the construction of the town and church ruined by the Great Turk. And no one would have known this secret giving if revealing letters had not turned up after his death.<sup>48</sup>

A duel of giving had indeed been going on between a smiling Providence and Alonzo Villaseca, each endeavoring to outdo the other in generosity, and the more Alonzo gave to God's needy the more God gave to him. The guiding motive for his benefactions was assuredly the same as that of Sánchez, though the contributions of the one were in the realm of the material and those of the other were in the realm of education and ministries. Alonzo, then, came to give the Jesuits of his money, his valuable advice, and his heirs, and thus backing the fathers he invested heavily in the education of the youth of America. The circumstances which aroused his interest in the Jesuits remain unrevealed secrets, but in his desire to have the boys of Mexico educated, he had written to the heads of the Society in Europe years before the arrival of the Company in New Spain, offering to defray transportation expenses and build a house or college for those who would be sent his way. No Jesuits were available at the time. When finally they were lodged in the hospital, word of them apparently got to his estates some eighteen leagues north of Mexico City.

Recalling his habit of making donations unostentatiously and even anonymously, we are not surprised at the lack of documentation for Alonzo's gifts large and small to the Jesuits. First off, he sent smaller sums beginning with 100 pesos. On November 6, 1572, he gave Sánchez 26,500 pesos. Next he offered some lots. The provincial called together the fathers for consultation about accepting them, and as Viceroy Enríquez was making no move to assign property, Sánchez and his consultants decided to go out secretly to investigate the proffered property. That night, December 11 or 12, they went to the site, a few squares off the main plaza toward the lake. They beheld a square of unkempt land supporting several burro sheds. Now why had Villaseca chosen this place as a gift rather than lots in a cleaner and more healthy place? Alonzo, they concluded, must have had good reasons behind his offer. Time proved the value of the property and the

<sup>48</sup> His only daughter was of course sought in marriage even by titled señores of Old Spain, but she chose a rich youth of Mexico, thus causing the family fortune to "pyramid" beyond estimation. All would have been inherited by Alonzo's two grandsons, had not the eldest surrendered his portion on entering the Society of Jesus, in which he lived as a teacher in the Colegio Máximo long years before he there died a holy death.



astuteness of Villaseca. As for the Jesuits, they and their successors did not leave the spot from the evening in 1572 when they first beheld it until 1767. Sánchez accepted it. He and the others set to work with brushes, shovels, and hammers, making a habitation out of sheds, while reserving one of the straw-roofed huts for a chapel where Masses were said in the morning. On its site later there was erected the main doorway of the Colegio Máximo, rated as the most important educational structure among all the eighty-seven developed by the Jesuits in colonial Hispanic America.

Sums had been added by Alonzo until his total gifts amounted in 1575 to 88,830 pesos and at the end of the next year to about 150,000 pesos. He was named founder of the college in 1578. Because of his bequests he was asked to submit a name for the college which by reason of his choice was known for 190 years legally as El Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo de la Compañía de Jesús de Nueva España. Sánchez on his part had to expend money expeditiously and frequently sought advice. On one occasion there was question of investment in lands for income, since banks did not exist. He intended to buy some lots in Mexico City, but first asked Villaseca what he thought of the idea. Alonzo was the soul of discouragement and told the provincial to invest in cheaper property or farm lands outside the city. When he was asked where precisely to buy the gruff *caballero* turned away in silence. And so Sánchez and a companion started out aimlessly for the outskirts of the city, letting Providence guide their steps to the north. There beyond the lake they found quite by accident some excellent land which was purchased very cheaply. Coadjutor brothers and workmen sent to farm the estate cultivated it well, so well that for years to come it assured the college of food. Villaseca's beneficences continued, even though illness confined him to his bed. He died on September 8, 1580, before he could behold the complete development of his college. The viceroy, ecclesiastics, and religious attended the interment of his body in the college after nine days of magnificent obsequies.<sup>49</sup>

During 1573 the provincial was very busy. Friendly Indians were organized to the number of 3,000 who joyfully constructed

<sup>49</sup> Alegre, I, 176. The officials of New Spain insisted upon this manifestation of respect for Alonzo in view of a great service he had rendered the kingdom. An insurrection of the people had occurred some years before against the Audiencia then ruling instead of the viceroy. Alonzo gathered up a force of 200 horsemen, quelled the disturbance, and out of his own goods remedied the disorder.

a temporary church at one end of the property, and then in April joined with the citizens in an elaborate dedicatory service of the wood structure. The location of the Jesuit site gave rise to some objections on the part of established convents whose parochial boundaries seemed to be infringed upon, but the affair was ironed out agreeably to all. Plans had to be drafted and the construction of the college building had to be supervised. Since Sedeño reported so unfavorably on the Florida Indians and Menéndez, Father Rogel and his two companions were called to Mexico from Havana by Sánchez.<sup>50</sup> New candidates applying for admission to the Society had to be examined; for these a novitiate was begun. Arrangements for the ordination of three student theologians were necessary; then Sánchez established the young priests in their tertianship, or final probation. A farm given to the Jesuits was soon turned into a productive villa and was named by the provincial whimsically enough Jesús del Monte after the Alcalá villa. It soon supplied food for the larder and healthful recreation for the Jesuit students of the college. The Jesuits were distributed for preaching, all day catechetical work, and for missionary excursions to nearby towns, while the Padre Doctor was regularly called upon for sermons. Most important of all, definite strides were made toward organizing the educables of the city into groups legally founded as colleges and *convictorios*. The first of these *colegios* was named Santa María de Todos Santos. Sánchez after long conferences with sponsors had them set aside money for fifteen bursaries. The second, a seminary group, was named San Pedro y San Pablo. In both instances the provincial was the originator, legislator, and founder of the typical European colleges. He had also to see to the housing of the youthful collegians and to their preliminary instruction.<sup>51</sup>

Progress continued in 1574. Sánchez journeyed to the great mining town, Zacatecas, almost 400 miles by road to the northwest of Mexico City to investigate possibilities for a college. He found the citizens eager, but could only promise them a foundation as soon as he could obtain men for it. On his return to the capital he could be found supervising carpenters, preaching, de-

<sup>50</sup> Letter of Sedeño to Borgia, February 12, 1572, in Ugarte, "First Jesuit Mission," *loc. cit.*, 112-116, especially 115, where Sedeño says: "There will be no use in our staying here, for we can do nothing for the Florida Indians." No support was being given to the Jesuits in Havana by Menéndez, Alegre, I, 66. However, no sooner did they arrive in Mexico than the king ordered them back to Havana, *ibid.*, 80. They obediently returned but finally had to give up their project in 1574 because of absolute penury.

<sup>51</sup> For the details of these developments cf. Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations*, Chapter VI, *et. seq.*

bating theological problems with professors of the Old University of Mexico, or arranging adolescents into college groups. Thus were added the colleges of San Gregorio, San Bernardo, San Miguel to those founded in 1573. On the arrival of six new men from Spain in September, Sánchez gave orders to begin teaching in the Colegio Máximo. Undoubtedly there was happiness in his heart when classes opened on October 18 with academic fanfare worthy of European universities. Three hundred students were in attendance. With the educational center of the Jesuits well grounded, the provincial promptly went west over the mountains to Pátzcuaro to accept foundation money for a college there. Four Jesuits were assigned for the beginning. Meantime, two were sent to Oaxaca to reconnoiter in response to pressing invitations from the southeast.

Days of sorrow and hours of worry, nevertheless, were part of the life of Sánchez. An indescribably dreadful plague of small pox scourged New Spain during 1575 and 1576, taking an estimated two-thirds of the Indian peoples. Some Jesuits spent the entire time administering to the stricken in homes, hospitals, and streets. Sánchez had found a sturdy friend in Pedro Caltzontzín, the last of the line of native kings of Michoacán. The ravaging plague cut down the noble just as he was admitted to the Company. Shortly afterwards, Juan Curiel, the rector of the new college at Pátzcuaro, one of Sánchez's students and emulators, was taken while caring for the Indians. Poverty and want were worries in Pátzcuaro and Oaxaca. Disputes regarding the *cannas*, legalities about foundations, a fire which destroyed the school building in Pátzcuaro in 1578, and the arrival of two troublemakers within his own ranks, were each sources of concern. One disturber, erring on the side of austerity, Alonzo Sánchez, was later sent to missionize the Philippines, where he became famous; the other, Lanuchi, who refused to teach the pagan classics, was returned to Italy.

Moments of joy were interspersed with those of anxiety. In 1576 higher studies were inaugurated in the Colegio Máximo on the arrival of twelve new helpers. Two were so renowned for their erudition, Hortigosa and Rubio, that they served as lecturers in both the Old University and in the Jesuit college. Sánchez himself gave lectures on moral theology for local clergymen in the residence of Archbishop Moya de Contreras. The college of Oaxaca was opened. Preliminary steps were taken to begin smaller schools in Puebla, Vera Cruz, and Morelia. The

provincial made agreements in 1578 with the Old University regents regarding interchanges of students, lecturers, and degrees. And, what was very important for the future, Sánchez during these years was preparing men for missionary work among the Indians, directing them to study the languages and sending them among the peoples around Mexico City, Pátzcuaro, Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Puebla, and Oaxaca. Why the fathers did not go immediately among the natives is clear from the orders of the king, who, while he wished the conversion of the infidels, wanted the Jesuits to go to missions from founded colleges. It would really seem then, in the light of Philip's failure to support the Jesuit colleges, that he had little intention of supporting their missionary program.<sup>52</sup> And this makes the achievement of Sánchez in building a province from the ground up all the more remarkable.

According to the Jesuit rules of procedure the provincial was appointed for three years, on the completion of which a second term might be given, as was done in the case of Sánchez. Only under most extraordinary circumstances was the provincial to remain in office more than six years. It was quite reasonable for the Padre Doctor then in 1577 when he had labored arduously for six years at the construction of his province to remind the general, Mercurian, of a successor. Apparently, no word came from Rome on the matter. Sánchez called a provincial congregation for October 5, 1577, whose purpose was to elect from among the fathers in Mexico two procurators to present petitions of their province at Rome and at the court of Madrid.<sup>53</sup> The fathers called into session sent their memorial to Mercurian. They asked for a visitor; they suggested that he be Juan de la Plaza who had just concluded a visitation of Peru; they requested Plaza as their next provincial. They elected Father Díaz to carry the message across the Atlantic.

The general named Plaza as *visitador* in 1578, and, months before the latter made his appearance in Mexico, designated him by letter under date of January 31, 1579, as provincial, once he would have completed his visitation of the Province of New Spain.<sup>54</sup> Plaza landing far to the south made his way gradually via Guatemala up to Mexico by December 1579, when he opened an inspection lasting for a year. He found the letter of appoint-

<sup>52</sup> Alegre, I, 153. Father Alegre who was one of the Jesuits exiled from New Spain in the suppression of 1767 is exceedingly choice in his words, but nevertheless brings out the idea.

<sup>53</sup> *Acta* of the Provincial Congregation, Archives of the Mexican Province.

<sup>54</sup> The letter is in Alegre, I, 161.



ment to the provincialate awaiting him. He was instructed by the general in the same letter to make good use of the abilities of Pedro Sánchez, whose virtues and talent were well known throughout the realm. This is high testimony to the founder's worth, if one considers that Plaza, who himself had received votes for the generalate at the time of the election of Mercurian (1573), was told to profit by Sánchez's judgment and experience. The only disorders found within the jurisdiction of the incumbent was a dispute over several types of prayer, and the mild turmoil created by Lanuchi's puritanism and Alonzo Sánchez's quietism. Although there is no available contemporary evidence in proof it seems safe to state that Sánchez and Plaza worked well together. The visitation was concluded on November 11, 1580,<sup>55</sup> and hence Sánchez resigned his office then, though it had officially terminated in January of the preceding year.

As a result of the arrival of Plaza only at the end of 1579 and of the co-management of provincial affairs until the end of 1580, credit for several important educational and missionary developments during the two years must go to the founder of the province. In May of 1578 Pedro Sánchez, on receiving word from Puebla of the renewal of an offer for a college foundation, and envisioning excellent opportunities, betook himself beyond the towering volcanoes to this second most important city of New Spain. There he went through the customary legal processes, affixing his signature to deeds to land purchased with money from a bequest. Alms significant of the good will of the citizens paid early expenses for a few teachers and missionaries at the Jesuit residence. In 1580 a budding college was being conducted by eleven fathers, brothers, and scholastics. Thereafter the growth continued until Puebla had a Jesuit college which rivaled the Colegio Máximo of Mexico City, and in time it became a center with five colleges and seminaries.<sup>56</sup>

For the missionary phase of the Jesuit development Sánchez sent two fathers and twelve younger Jesuits outside Mexico City to an Indian village principally to study the native languages as a preparation for ordination and missionary life. This was done in 1579, but in 1580 Plaza felt it was impossible to sustain the Jesuits there, and therefore the fathers were moved to nearby Tepotzotlán. This primitive Indian village site through the efforts of the Jesuits later became graced by a missionary college, a

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 178.

<sup>56</sup> Jacobsen, *Educational Foundations*, Chapter XII.

novitiate, a seminary for Indians, and one of the most elaborately beautiful churches in all Mexico. The social and religious developments which occurred in Tepotzotlán deserve a monograph.

The second missionary enterprise inaugurated by the far-sighted provincial had to do with the Jesuit advance into the Philippine Islands. Philip II was interested in these outposts of his colonial empire. The route to the Islands lay over Mexico. Of urgent need for the firm occupation and development expected by the king and his viceroy in New Spain was the missionary influence. In Spain the usual dearth of religious men for the project prevailed. Letters from the bishop of the Islands to the king, from the king to the Jesuit general, from the general to the viceroy and to Sánchez, had their effect. Plaza in his capacity as visitor sent Alonzo Sánchez and Antonio Sedeño across the Pacific on the Manila Galeon in 1580. This was quite an extension of the Mexican Province.

## VI

A great happiness came to "Pedro Mexicano" as he dropped the burden of responsibility and returned to the ranks. The membership of Jesuits in Mexico had increased notably during his régime. It had grown from 47 in 1576 to 101 in 1580, of whom 53 were native born Mexicans admitted to the Company by the learned founder. They were engaged in studies, lecture halls, secondary classrooms, Indian schools, missions, social organization, parochial ministries, hospitals, and farming. The spirit of the province was high; the feeling of the colonials and Indians was cordial toward Sánchez and his men. A certain confidence in themselves bred of the conviction among the Creoles that qualified instructors, scholars, and schools had come to remain led to a notable regeneration of intellectual pursuits.

As might have been expected the services of the ex-provincial were in considerable demand. He was still in excellent health. His prestige and learning could nowhere be of greater service, it was felt, than in the Colegio Máximo. To its halls he was assigned. There for three years, beginning probably in October 1581, he was professor of theology, reading his lectures as of old at Alcalá on the section *de Angelis*. Every Sunday and feast day over a period of twenty-five years his energetic sermons were heard from one or other pulpit.

His second professorial assignment was to the growing College of Puebla, and the superiors in the new center of learning



appointed him to explain moral theology for three years. In 1586, Aquaviva, the general, suggested that if there was ever need he could be made rector of the Colegio Máximo.<sup>57</sup> During his spare time he wrote a work in three volumes which for many years had far-reaching influence on the spiritual life of religious and laity in Europe as well as in the Americas. He entitled it *Libro de Reyno de Dios, y del camino por donde se alcanza*. It was a series of practical treatises on virtues, instructions and practices necessary for the attainment of Christian perfection in any walk of life, and illustrative examples drawn from lives of the saints. The first edition in 965 pages, published at Madrid in 1594, was followed by three others in Spanish, 1599, 1605, 1616; two in German, 1610, 1611; and three in French, 1608, 1609, 1669.<sup>58</sup> Those acquainted with the famed ascetical work of Alonso Rodríguez, *Exercicio de Perfeccion*, which ran through scores of editions in many languages, may be interested to know that Rodríguez's work was written along similar lines to Sánchez's but was first published in 1609, fifteen years after the *Libro de Reyno de Dios*.

As far as particular Jesuit institutions were concerned, one stood forth as a great source of pride to the provinces of Europe—the House of the Professed Fathers or *Casa Profesa*. It was the intention of St. Ignatius to have the fathers who had taken the four vows live together as mendicants, offering their services of whatever kind freely and depending absolutely for their subsistence upon the alms of the faithful. When colleges came into existence as institutions of the Jesuits, endowments were sought so that the service of education might be carried on *gratis*, and only by dispensations were colleges permitted to take minimum tuitions and stipends in case no founders came forward.<sup>59</sup> The colleges as corporations could own goods and have rentals for their support, even though individual Jesuits staffing them could not own anything by reason of their vow of poverty; but the professed houses could in no case have rentals or goods, and hence

<sup>57</sup> Aquaviva to Mendoza, September 9, 1586, in Mexican Province Archives. In another letter of the general to the provincial, Mendoza, dated January 15, 1590, Sánchez was appointed consultor of the province.

<sup>58</sup> For this see Carlos Sommervogel, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Brussels-Paris, VII (1885), 529; for Rodríguez see *ibid.*, VI, 1946-1963. The Ms. Vida of Sánchez, 225, says that Pedro practiced what he preached in the book. Permission for a Mexican edition was given, Aquaviva to Páez, March 1598, Mexican Province Archives.

<sup>59</sup> Ribas, I, 232-298, gives a very ample account of the Casa Profesa. Ribas was its rector from 1649-1651, J. V. Jacobsen, "The Chronicle of Pérez de Ribas," *MID-AMERICA*, XX (April 1938), 91.

any *casa profesa*, as most closely approximating the ideal of Ignatius Loyola, was looked upon as a necessary establishment for the complete rounding out of a province. It was the abode wherein strict adherence to the constitutions of the Society was expected; it was the headquarters of the spirit and virtue of a province. Fathers living in such residences were allowed by permission to use only what was really essential in food, diet, apparel, and lodging. Now the Province of New Spain could not hope for a crowning glory of the kind during the provincialate of Sánchez, since it had only four professed fathers. Yet not many years passed before its founder was called upon to establish the Casa Profesa of Mexico City and to be the first rector. Pedro's Colegio Máximo is today pretty much dismantled, but *La Profesa* in the heart of Mexico City remains one of the historical monuments of a great colonial Christian past. Its origin may be stated briefly.

The group of fathers living in the Colegio Máximo had been from the beginning occupied severally with religious ministries and with studies. The administrative need to separate those engaged solely in works of a parochial nature from those engaged in education became apparent. Under the circumstances of organized parochial jurisdictions a new parish was out of the question. What the Jesuits wished was first a residence from which they could go to the aid of any of the parishes, visit the hospitals, the jails, the sick, and the dying, and secondly a church for sermons, novenas, and confessions at any hour of the day or night. Such activities had been part of the daily life of Father Sánchez. Neither he nor his companions wished to have in the church attached to their professed house the ordinary sources of stipend money, baptisms, marriages, and funerals, because the exercise of these ministries might easily cause difficulties with the clergy to whose respective parishes such functions belonged.

When word of the projected church and residence in the civic center got around, a relative of one of the fathers in 1584 bequeathed 4,000 pesos toward the purchase of a house in the business area of the city. On the death of the donor this stipulation in his will had to be considered by the courts and officials. Archbishop Moya de Contreras, who was at the same time viceroy, governor, first inquisitor, and *visitador* of New Spain, acting in the name of king and Church, granted license to the Jesuits for the *casa profesa* as described. This was done in 1585 and confirmed in 1592 by Viceroy Velasco, but the money was far from

sufficient for the complete independence of the house. Founders were sought. Volunteers came forward in 1592 in the persons of the king's treasurer, Don Juan Luis de Rivera, and his wife. They offered 50,000 pesos for the beginning, whereupon papers were drawn and signed on February 3, 1592, by the founders, the officials, the Jesuit *visitador*, Avellaneda, and the provincial, Pedro Díaz. Having concluded their obeisance to legality four fathers within a few hours moved into the already purchased building, took formal possession, and set up altars for Masses. All through the morning of February 4 priests of the Colegio and parishes of the city were dropping in to say their Masses in the improvised chapel. And shortly after this time Pedro Sánchez took up his abode there as the first rector of the incipient Casa Profesa.<sup>60</sup>

Evidences of good will to the contrary notwithstanding, a suit was promptly launched in the ecclesiastical court in protest against the Jesuit occupancy within the *cannas* or boundaries of local convents.<sup>61</sup> Sánchez resigned himself to watching the legal entanglement run its course in various courts during the three years of his incumbency, suffering meanwhile the inconveniences of narrow quarters and poverty. During this period while brains were being cudged toward a decision in Rome and Madrid, the litigants, it is noteworthy, mingled on most friendly terms. Such legal jousts, it seems, were welcomed outlets for men keen about the study of canons and procedures, and, as frequently happened, when all was over both parties to the suit fraternized amicably. This particular affair appears to have been one of the most useless of its kind, in view of the licenses, approbations, and purposes of the Casa Profesa. Of course construction of the church was expressly prohibited by the Audiencia until June 1595 when Cardinal Cajetan, Papal Nuncio at Madrid, settled the suit to the applause, actually, of Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits. So much publicity was given to the Casa and so widespread an interest aroused that once the way was clear valuable contributions were immediately forthcoming from all sides.

<sup>60</sup> According to the Acts of the Provincial Congregation dated January 21, 1592, Sánchez at this time held no office. Ribas, I, 235, says he was made *preposito*, or superior, after the opening of the house on February 3. Alegre, I, 271, has his appointment as rector among the events of 1594. The conclusion is that Sánchez was made superior in 1592, but no official appointment came from the general until 1594. A petition for the general's official sanction of the Casa Profesa was made by the Congregation of 1592 and the answer returned only in 1594.

<sup>61</sup> For this suit see Ribas, I, 236-239, and Alegre, I, 251, 296-297. Both give the documentary decision of Cardinal Cajetan.

The efforts of the rector and his community unquestionably had much to do with the cheery manner in which the verdict was welcomed in the capital. The old worn cassock of the Padre became a familiar sight around the city.<sup>62</sup> His instructions to the people and his lectures on moral theology to the clergy won him favor in the eyes of all. "In him," says Alegre, "all the qualities of a Christian orator were combined. From his lips difficult mysteries came forth in their clearest light, and his admirable energy could make vivid the most common truths. A venerable presence, a sonorous voice, and above all an irreprehensible life gave much grace and great authority to all his discourses."<sup>63</sup> At home he distributed the time and the labors of the other fathers and by his organization closely approximated the ideal mode of life expected in a professed house. Apparently his hospitality did away with stiffness and formality, for Jesuits of the other communities wished to live where Pedro was.<sup>64</sup> They frequently paid him visits, so much so that the general wrote to the province telling the fathers, scholastics, and novices to curtail the number of visits to the Casa Profesa.<sup>65</sup> Externs of every walk of life coming for guidance, for consolation, or for confession always found the porter ready with a welcome at the sound of the bell. One of the fathers gained great renown for the group in a highly public way. A prisoner in the jail condemned to die for a crime was brought to the very foot of the gallows. The father attending him asked the hangman for a stay in the execution until he could consult the court. To the surprise of witnesses the petition was granted and the father rushed away. He indicated to the judge flaws in the process of trial and proved the innocence of the accused. The judge ordered the execution stopped, and at the re-trial the accused was freed.<sup>66</sup> This event proved to all that spiritual work among prisoners was far from fruitless.

Because of the accessibility of the fathers, their zeal, and the gratuity of their ministries, in short because of the type of service rendered, a distinct identity was rapidly fastened on the house of Sánchez. Just as the Colegio Máximo de San Pedro y San Pablo stood forth as an educational center, so La Profesa became a

<sup>62</sup> Ms. Vida, 222.

<sup>63</sup> Alegre, I, 272.

<sup>64</sup> Ms. Vida, 228.

<sup>65</sup> Aquaviva to the Provincial Congregation, 1594, Mexican Province Archives. The general also limited the number in the house to six.

<sup>66</sup> Alegre, I, 273. Ribas has page after page of recitals of astonishing and edifying events, including diabolical possessions, to which fathers residing in the Casa were witness.



spiritual center, and each contributed equally toward fashioning the missionary spirit which guided Black Robes in the Jesuit advance into the northern frontier. The men of the Casa led in a great spiritual revival and played no little part in bolstering the morale of the colony. In particular, they were at the beck not only of the Spanish gentry and Creoles in moments of trial and distress but also of the Indians, Negroes, meztizos, and neglected elements of the social scheme.<sup>67</sup> Besides moving among the people the fathers conducted special devotions every Sunday and feast day throughout the afternoon, consisting of organ and instrumental music, choir and community singing, sermons, and prayers. Saturdays and eves of festivals were occupied with confessions; people came in so great numbers at times that fathers from the college was requisitioned to aid. During the week special seasonal services were held. Moreover, children were instructed, and preparatory training was given to Indian boys sent into the city by the clergy of outlying districts, who thought the youths might have vocations to the clerical state.

The contribution to social progress for which Father Sánchez became especially celebrated in church work was his foundation of a confraternity that lasted for two hundred years under the name of the Congregación del Salvador. It was distinct among various sodalities established under Jesuit auspices in colonial times for the spiritual betterment of the laity. Generally these groups had as their object devotion to and imitation of the Blessed Virgin attended by practices of the temporal works of mercy on behalf of the neighbor.<sup>68</sup> From the viewpoint of the sociologist such Marian societies have proved noteworthy and practical organizations. The Anunciata Congregation founded under Sánchez in 1574 in the Colegio Máximo had sections for students, for seminarians, and for priests of the city. It spread later to other colleges. Daily each member was committed to attend or say Mass, recite the rosary, and read some spiritual book, while on Sunday all met together for common prayer and instruction. Each section was to practice some particular work of charity, such as gathering food, clothing, and medicine for distribution to the poor, or instructing the ignorant, or gathering funds for the publication of instructive and pious booklets. Many

<sup>67</sup> Ms. Vida, 222; Ribas, I, 267.

<sup>68</sup> Gerardo Decorme, S. J., *La Obra de los Jesuitas en México durante la época colonial*, a manuscript history about to be published, has a fine chapter on the various sodalities. The Ms. Vida mentions Del Salvador; Ribas, I, 269-274, has a chapter on it.



a man of illustrious name was helped in his efforts toward a more perfect life by practicing the prescribed duties of the *Anunciata*. Similar sodalities were formed in time for each class of people in the land, one even for Negro slaves.

The scope, however, of the Salvador congregation for which Sánchez drew up regulations in 1594 was the more perfect worship and imitation of the Savior. In his aim to foster definite Christian practices among the socially elite he sought members from the often maligned flower of nobility of the old metropolis. Those desirous of joining the confraternity were put on probation and one by one given a book of regulations. Induction came when it was clear that the life of the candidate would be one of good example to the Catholics of the city. All met for common prayer and a sermon on Sunday afternoon, thus foregoing a stroll in one of the many gardens or parks and the amusements of the sunny plazas. After the membership had been brought to two hundred in 1596 the congregation came to a great flowering when the Viceroy, Conde de Monterrey, was admitted by Sánchez. Thereafter viceroys, bishops, prebendaries, members of audiencias, military commanders, nobles, merchants, Spanish and creole *hacendados* gathered to hear the words of the venerable father and to receive on the first Sunday of the month a *cédula* whereon a patron saint's name was written along with a virtue to be especially practiced by the recipient for the month following.<sup>69</sup> The Conde de Monterrey got other gentlemen interested and brought groups to church with him, and naturally people of the city were attracted more and more to the services until throngs filled La Profesa. The membership in the league went up to 800 men. The league Del Salvador by uniting thus the better class was the final step toward bringing the Jesuits into contact with every class in the caste system of New Spain. Religion by means of particular organizations of the sodality type became definitely a democratizing force, and the Casa and church became a rallying center where all men were equal. Since the members were men of means they established a treasury and set aside the dues and contributions for Masses for those who died each year allowing regular appropriations for Mass intentions applied to the souls in purgatory.<sup>70</sup> Thus there were said annual-

<sup>69</sup> Astrain, IV, 419, gets this information from the *Cartas Annuas*. The practice of distributing *cédulas* or leaflets started in Mexico by Sánchez is very familiar at present. The example given by the Conde de Monterrey occasioned a rapid spread of the devotion.

<sup>70</sup> Ribas, I, 271.

ly between eight and twelve thousand Masses each year. Stipends for these were given to priests of the Viceroyalty, four reales (about thirty cents) being the usual offering. The charity of this purgatorial society extended beyond the members to those of the lower class who died in poverty; members regularly payed for funeral expenses. Moreover, other sums were accumulated for services of musicians, for decorations, altar adornments, and special ceremonies. The most elaborate ceremony on record was that of 1610 when the church was finally consecrated and the beatification of Ignatius celebrated; for a week pageants, music, religious solemnities, and processions kept a great portion of the citizenry occupied in a prayerful way. The congregation of the Savior defrayed the expenses of the magnificent street decorations, floats, flowers, and costumes.

After serving as rector of the Casa Profesa for three years Sánchez asked to be relieved of his superiorship in order better to devote his time to his congregation. Father Báez became rector on November 4, 1595,<sup>71</sup> and Sánchez was made pastor of the church. The construction of the massive edifice had been begun probably a year before. Stone was quarried and transported; gifts toward the foundation multiplied; woodwork and altars were carved by artists and Indians; gold decorations, sacred vessels, vestments, and paintings were contributed. The church was opened with services on February 2, 1596.

How long exactly the pastor of La Profesa remained at his post cannot be stated with certitude. In 1603 when he was seventy-five he was still active at his work with the Congregación del Salvador.<sup>72</sup> The Jesuit Province of New Spain had grown in numbers until at that time it had 345 subjects in residences, missions, and colleges; its activities were extended to the Philippines, which became an independent province in 1604, to Central America and New Granada. Father Sánchez was the patriarch among the professed fathers of these widespread regions, for from 1604 his name heads the lists of those participating at each of the biennial provincial congregations. His counsel was still of great value. Apparently his sermons and talks had lost none of their vigor. The Viceroy, Marqués de Montesclaros, who had humbly asked Sánchez's permission to belong to Del Salvador, was so taken with the address of the venerable Black Robe that

<sup>71</sup> Alegre, I, 298. Ribas, I, 323, gives no date for the appointment as pastor. For descriptions of the church, the dedicatory services are described by Ribas, I, 242-259.

<sup>72</sup> Ribas, I, 270.

he brought him to the palace to repeat his words to the Virreina and the household.

As time went on the beloved Padre took his place as a perennial adjunct to the Casa. His superiors noticed a gradual weakening and considering his advanced age and health determined to appoint another father to relieve him on some days of his preaching duties. But the people refused to hearken to the suggestion; they would not part with their padre. Habitual indispositions of old age finally forced the venerated director to yield the pulpit to others. Yet his service was not finished. He was sent to the Colegio Máximo for the last year or so of his life, there to be the spiritual director of the student Jesuits in the house of his founding.

In the springtime of 1609 pain became a constant companion of Father Sánchez. His case was one of uremia which made rapid inroads on his failing vitality. Regularly he was visited by many of the important citizens who rejoiced in his friendship. Viceroy Velasco, grieving to hear of the feverish condition of the man to whom the capital owed much, kissed the hand of the sufferer, begged his blessing, and turned away very heavy-hearted.

Two days of life remained to Sánchez when he told the rector "I am near the palm." Fortified by the rites of the Church, staunch in his faith, he was liberated from his fever in the evening probably of July 16, and his mortal remains were laid to rest in the afternoon of the following day.<sup>73</sup> Tribute to the memory of the regenerator was immediate and wholehearted. Until the casket was sealed people cut pieces from the familiar cassock. The viceroy, the audiencia, clerics, members of the other religious orders, the lowly and the prominent people of the city, professors of the university, and students spontaneously arrived at the cathedral, whither the body had been removed in procession. A great multitude attended the solemn services for the esteemed and beloved Padre Sánchez. He was 81 years of age, 51 years a priest and Jesuit, and he had given 37 years of sacrificing and constructive labor to New Spain.

<sup>73</sup> Ms. Vida, 230-232; Ribas, I, 326-329; Alegre, II, 18. These have accounts of the death and burial. Alegre believes July 15 was the day of his death; Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, VII, 529, gives July 16; Ribas does not give the date but says that at dawn on the next day throngs came to view the remains, and that July 17 was the burial date.

# Jean Garnier, Librarian

## PART II

In modern libraries, particularly here in the United States, library functions have been developed in such a bewildering profusion that one may pardonably hesitate before deciding definitely which of the rich variety of services are really fundamental. In a range of library services that run from story-telling hours for pre-school children to microphotographing newspapers, and that include on the way several sorts of reference and bibliographic services, book reviews for women's clubs, parent guidance in educational and domestic problems, technological advice to manufacturers and middlemen, radio broadcasting, and a number of promotional activities, is it still true that the basic business of a library is to gather books and, through classification and cataloguing, to make the books readily available to the readers? Whatever be the current answer to that question, there is no doubt that in Garnier's time, and in fact for all the centuries until this immediate twentieth, the first concern of a librarian was to assemble books and to organize them for use.

Of Garnier's skill in the selection of books for the College library, we know nothing; and what we have to say about his cataloguing will not detain us long. He himself accounts for the cataloguing of the College library in three pages of his book, beginning with the succinct statement:

There is an individual catalogue for each of the four main divisions of the Library, in which the Authors are entered in a twofold arrangement, first technical, then alphabetical. The technical arrangement means an order for which logical rules can be set up, beyond the mere arbitrary succession of Authors' names alphabetically.<sup>1</sup>

His catalogue evidently is what we should nowadays call a shelf list, in which the entries are governed by the position of the books on the shelves. His cataloguing rules are, therefore, the rules for shelving the books within each of the four great divisions, and as such are the basis for his organization of the sequences within the large outlines of his classification.

The notation used in the catalogue was apparently a "mixed" notation, with letters for the large classes, of which there were fifty, and numbers under each letter for the subdivisions, which

<sup>1</sup> *Systema*, 11.

amounted to 493. This total takes account of the books and manuscripts, and excludes nineteen classes of coins and medals, and five groups of museum curios, with which Garnier's *Systema* was also concerned.

There is no indication of any author symbols, corresponding to our familiar "Cutter numbers," or of "work" symbols. For the authors, the alphabetical order seemed sufficient, in view of the relatively small number of books under each subdivision. The four catalogues were, we may be sure, ledger catalogues, with all the difficulties about expansion that the ledger type of catalogue implies. It should be mentioned in passing that Garnier thinks in terms of authors, not subjects, perhaps thus anticipating our author "main entry"; and hence his headings are "Philosophers . . . Mathematicians," where we should put philosophy or mathematics.

But it is important to remember that in the library of the College of Clermont (it is true also for many libraries even today) the catalogue was of more value to the librarian than to the readers, because the readers had direct access to the shelves, and depended for their knowledge of the books much less upon any catalogue than upon the classified arrangement of the books on the shelves, with prominent labels over the bookcases to indicate their contents. It is in a library with "closed shelves" that a catalogue of the books becomes an absolute need.

Hence Garnier was not tempted to think of book classification only as a foundation for a catalogue. He recognized it for what it was, the essential ordering of the books, indispensable as a means of facilitating their use. And now, at last, we turn to Garnier's work as a classifier. We shall consider it first in his theory of classification, then in his practice.

### 1. GARNIER'S THEORY OF CLASSIFICATION

In chapters III and IV of the first part of his book,<sup>2</sup> Garnier writes a brief essay on his theory of classification. He makes clear the important distinction between a philosophical and a utilitarian approach to the problem of classifying books in a library. A philosophically coherent scheme of classification would constrain the order of books to follow some theoretical order of knowledge. A utilitarian scheme consults only the convenience with which books may be made available to the reader. For the dignity of man's rational nature, Garnier refuses to abandon en-

<sup>2</sup> *Systema*, 10-14.



tirely the philosophical ordering of books. The noble concept of the relationship between books as representative of man's relations with God, with the world of creatures, and with his fellow-men, past and present, determines his four main divisions: Theology, Philosophy, History, and Law.<sup>3</sup> In so far, his scheme of classification is philosophical. But beyond the limit of such a basic grouping of books according to a hierarchy of knowledge, common sense advises that a conventional, arbitrary, purely expedient classification, with mnemonic recurrences of sequences, with the natural guidance of geographical and chronological order, and the convenient sub-grouping of authors alphabetically, is the most practical and useful way of classifying a library. Garnier showed that he had plenty of common-sense; he accepted the utilitarian basis of book classification.

He puts down four tests of a good scheme of classification:

1. that it should not do violence to relationships in nature;
2. that every book should find its place in the scheme;
3. that those who used the scheme should get a larger view of bibliography from it;
4. that it should make the books easy to find.<sup>4</sup>

That is setting a high standard, even for the number and range of books existing in the seventeenth century, when many of the modern sciences and quasi-sciences were still undeveloped, and when book-production amounted to only a small fraction of the enormous output of today.

The first theoretical conclusion he draws from considering these four tests of a good classification is that no absolutely uniform system of classification will work. In other words, he accepts the principle of flexibility in classification, at least in a

<sup>3</sup> Here is a sample of his reasoning in setting up the four main divisions of his scheme of classification:

"The knowledge which is contained in books perfects man according to all the powers of his mind which are capable of dealing with knowledge; and these are four: his higher reason, his lower reason, his memory, and his capacity for social relations with other men, which last is a sort of blending of the first three. For, as the ancients put it, man is an animal at once akin to God, endowed with reason, and functioning in society. But it is the knowledge of divine things that perfects man's higher reason, the knowledge of human things that perfects his lower reason, the knowledge of the past that perfects his memory, and the knowledge of Law that perfects his social relations. That knowledge is called divine which derives from the Word of God; that knowledge we call human whose source is man's own reason; knowledge of history is that which brings to life the deeds of former times; knowledge of Law embraces the rules, that is the bonds, by which human societies are linked together" (*Systema*, 10-11).

<sup>4</sup> *Systema*, 12.

limited way. But he still pleads for an element of rational rule in that general practice of expediency. Certain principles of order established by "the Great Tradition," by the accumulated learning and wisdom of men, should make a rigid core for the arbitrary flexibility of classification. The chief principles of order he enumerates as six: the order of nature, the hierarchy of knowledge, the order of languages, the chronological order, the order of human rank, the order of social groups.

He illustrates these. For instance, in the order of nature, genera should come before species, species before individuals, substances before accidents, the whole before the parts, and so on; in the hierarchy of knowledge, books of a general character should precede special works; in language, the dead languages should take precedence over the living, cultured languages over barbaric, one's own language over foreign languages; in the chronological order, he wishes to follow the common opinion about dates, not contentious novelties; in human rank, also, he prefers the common usage, as for example, in the ecclesiastical and civil distinctions of dignitaries; in the social order, he wishes to group books representative of schools of thought, of religious organizations, and the like.

Besides this general introductory essay on his theory of classification, Garnier wrote, as a preface to the outline of each of the classes under his four main divisions, other little essays, still in the order of theory, whose purpose was to explain the grounds of his divisions and sequences. There are sixty-one of these essays, each constituting a chapter of his book. At the close of each essay, he sets down in numerical order the schedules for the subject dealt with. As a specimen, here is a translation of the first chapter in the section headed, "Philosophers":

Knowledge which is derived solely from human reason the Greeks called Philosophy, and the Latins called Learning (*Literae*). This Learning is of two sorts, the Exact Sciences, and Literature: the Exact Sciences are again divided into Philosophy in the strict sense of the word, Mathematical and Physical Sciences, and Medicine: Literature is divided into Grammar, Rhetoric, Poetry, and that common adjunct of the three, Criticism.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> "Grammatica" in Garnier's day meant the whole science of languages, what we now call philology. Garnier used the term "Philologia" to mean literary criticism; and it has been so translated here. "Mathematici" also has its own, and a very comprehensive, meaning in Garnier; it includes, besides mathematicians, astronomers and astrologers, physicists, architects, engineers, musicians, tacticians, artilleryists, etc. Chemistry he includes under medicine.

The reason why Exact Learning should be divided into those three parts is sought in the fact that it is the business of this kind of knowledge to perfect man in his mind and his body: but Philosophy and the Exact Sciences perfect man's mind; Medicine perfects his body.

But in the mind there are four powers, intelligence, will, imagination, and motor energy (*vis movendi*). Philosophy perfects the first two, the intelligence by contemplation, the will by action. The Exact Sciences perfect the latter two, the imagination by exercising it on the interrelations of physical bodies; and motor energy by their concern with the measurements of motion.

The reason why Literature is divided into Grammar, Rhetoric, Poetry, and their common adjunct, Criticism, is this: Literature aims at cultivating man as a social being; but society is founded on the communication of ideas and emotions; but this communication is accomplished by speech and writing; and perfect speech means speech that is correct, eloquent, and pleasing. Now Grammar teaches us to speak correctly, Rhetoric to speak eloquently, and Poetry to speak delightfully. Criticism teaches us how we may read literary works more carefully, more intelligently, and with greater profit.<sup>6</sup>

In this sort of theorizing, Garnier obviously enters a field of controversy: a controversy affecting not merely the practical usefulness of any such fixed orders in classifying books, but also the validity of the distinctions implied in establishing these orders. Even his assumptions, which we may be sure he thought beyond question, are almost furiously rejected today by many librarians. As Rabbi ben Ezra says:

Ten men love what I hate,  
Shun what I follow, slight what I receive . . .

But in seventeenth-century France, the field of controversy in such matters, although ample enough, was immeasurably narrower than, say, in twentieth-century America, the home of all the isms, theological, dialectical, scientific, economic, literary, and political. The "faculty psychology" evident in Garnier's reasoning was then the accepted view of most men; the teleological estimate of all human activity was unquestioned. Other classifiers differed from Garnier in their coordination and subordination of the elements of his scheme; but they agreed with him that those were the elements to be taken into account.

Garnier, however, as a practical classifier, doing a definite job in a definite library, made no delay over the controversial aspects of his theory. He pushed on to recount very briefly some

<sup>6</sup> *Systema*, 31-32.

of his main heads of practice in following out his theory in the scheme he had actually set up. Here are some of them:

The works of an individual author, when they have any kinship amongst themselves, even the slightest, are not separated: when they have nothing in common, they are put each in its own subject class. (Yet it is to be desired, if there be space for it, to set up a distinct class of Polygraphy, that is, for those authors who have edited disparate works.)

When diverse works of an author are kept together, then his chief work, whether by reason of its extent, or its nobility of theme, or its fame, draws the rest of his works into its class.

To save space, no duplicates are kept, unless they are successive editions, larger or better than the first, or more enriched with variant readings and notes, or particularly handsome and the product of famous Presses.

First editions are sought as having almost the value of manuscript codices.

Of translations of great authors, the original edition has been sought so diligently that the Library has practically all of them. Other editions of translations are kept in the order of the languages of the translations if they are in several languages, in the chronological order if they are in only one language.

Epitomes, supplements, concordances, criticisms, are kept with the work upon which they are based.

Partial editions of an author's works are shelved in the order in which they appear in his collected works. . . .

Both in the alphabetical catalogue, and on the shelves, separate works of an author follow each other in the chronological order of their composition, if that be known, or at least in the order of their dates of publication.<sup>7</sup>

A modern classifier, with the benefit of nearly three centuries of librarians' experience since the time of Garnier, has much more detailed rules for his guidance. If he compares Garnier's rules with Merrill's *Code for Classifiers*, it is rather like comparing Nicolas Jenson's printing press with a multiple-cylinder rotary press of today. Yet to be quite fair, the comparison ought to be made between a book produced by Jensen and a modern book. Perhaps also the comparison should be between what Garnier achieved in his library with his simpler scheme, and what we achieve nowadays with our elaborate scheme. Garnier had to deal with a smaller range and a smaller number of books than the modern classifier faces; he needed a smaller apparatus.

<sup>7</sup> *Systema*, 13-14. Then follow his two rules regulating the loan service of the library, already noticed in this paper.

The rather astonishing fact is that he devised an approach to the problems of classifying books which is in so many ways like our own, and that the three centuries of experience intervening should have improved upon his approach only in the way of expansion and complexity of the working rules. We must look to his actual practice for the first test of his theory, to ask whether he could make it work in his library at least as well as our more elaborate theories work in our libraries.

## 2. GARNIER'S PRACTICE OF CLASSIFICATION

No scheme of classification is seen properly only upon paper, in the form of outlines and schedules. Until it has been observed as actually functioning in a library, or better still, tested out by working with it in a library, a scheme of classification remains an academic affair, subject to endless theoretical speculations. But since Garnier's library has long since been destroyed, diagrams and outlines are all that can be offered here.<sup>8</sup>

The most practical way of presenting the outlines of Garnier's scheme of classification seems to be to assemble together the piecemeal schedules he puts at the close of each small chapter of the four main sections of his book, and combine these with the notations he has indicated separately in the first introductory section of the book.<sup>9</sup> The fifth section of his scheme, dealing with works of heterodoxy, and the sixth section, which he heads "Cimelium" (Treasury), and which is concerned with the manuscript and coin collections of the library are little more than appendices. The materials classified in these two sections, it will be remembered, were those kept in the small closets, or "museums"; and for these he indicated no notation.

Here, then, is a fairly close translation of Garnier's schedules, in which the chief liberty taken has been to put the headings in the form of subjects, Theology, Philosophy, instead of Garnier's form, Theologians, Philosophers, etc.

<sup>8</sup> W. C. Berwick Sayers, *A Manual of Classification for Librarians and Bibliographers*, London, 1926, presents, in Table II, facing page 119, a diagrammatic outline which he calls, "System of Garnier, as modified." It is not taken from Garnier's *Systema*, which one suspects Sayers had never seen, but from a botched reprint in the German periodical, *Serapeum*, published in Leipzig. It contains seven main divisions, making Medicine (III) and Literature (IV) separate divisions, whereas Garnier, as may be seen from the present translation, included both Medicine and Literature as classes under his main division of Philosophy.

<sup>9</sup> The four main catalogues take up pages 15-104; the outline of the classes, with the notation indicated for each, is on pages 7-9.



## I THEOLOGY

## A BIBLES

1. Polyglot Bibles
2. Hebrew Bibles
3. Syriac and other Oriental languages
4. Greek Bibles
5. Latin Bibles before the correction (Clementine, 1598)
6. Latin Bibles after the correction
7. All French versions
8. Versions in Italian, Spanish, German, English, Flemish, Danish, Swedish, Polish, Slavic, etc.

## B BIBLE GLOSSES, CRITICISM, COMMENTARIES, CATENAE

1. Glosses, Scholiast Comments, Paraphrases
2. Criticism
3. Hermeneutics
4. Catenae

C 5. Interpreters of Both Testaments<sup>10</sup>

## D 6. Interpreters of Old Testament alone

## C 7. Jewish History

## D 8. Interpreters of New Testament alone

## E PATRISTIC COLLECTIONS

1. Collections published in Paris, Supplements, Variant Readings, Anthologies, etc.
2. General Patristic Collections, in chronological order
3. Controversial or Apologetic Collections
4. Collections as Sources for Preaching
5. National Collections (*Gentium singularium*)
6. Collections by Religious Orders
7. Collections by Secular Organizations

## F GREEK FATHERS

1. Fathers of first, second, and third centuries
2. Fathers of fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries
3. Fathers of seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, up to Photius
4. Fathers from Photius to the present, both Catholic and Schismatic

## G LATIN FATHERS

By centuries, as for Greek Fathers, but ending at the close of the twelfth century, with Peter Lombard, the father of the Schools.

<sup>10</sup> Although these are listed by the numbers, 5, 6, 7, 8, in chapter III, p. 19, Garnier assigned them letters in the broad outline given earlier, on p. 7.

**H SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGIANS**

1. The four Leaders, Augustine, John Damascene, Robert Pullen, Peter Lombard
2. Franciscans
3. Dominicans
4. Jesuits
5. Hieronymites, Augustinians, both Canons Regular and Monks
6. Carthusians, Cistercians, Carmelites
7. Minims, Mercedarians, and other recent Orders
8. Secular Theologians, by the Academies in which they flourished; French first (and Parisians first of these), then Italians, Spaniards, Germans, etc.

**I CONTROVERSY<sup>11</sup>**

1. Against Infidels  
(Eight subdivisions: writers against Atheism, Secularism, Paganism, Magic, Libertinism and Praedamitism, Mahometanism, Judaism)<sup>12</sup>
2. Against Heresies  
(Three subdivisions by subjects: Method of controversy, Materials of controversy, Specimens of controversy)
3. Against Older Heresies  
(Three subdivisions: against the Greek Heresies, the Sacramentarians, the Hussites)
4. Against Zwinglians
5. Against Lutherans
6. Against Calvinists
7. Against Socinians
8. Against the Most Recent  
(Four subdivisions by subject: Heresies about Grace, Penance, the Teaching Church, Augustine and the Fathers)

**K MORAL THEOLOGY**

1. Franciscan Moralists
2. Dominican Moralists
3. Jesuit Moralists
4. Clerks Regular, who number many writers on Moral Theology
5. Moralists of other Religious Orders, chronologically
6. Bishops
7. Secular Doctors, by Academies  
(In each class, keep authors in chronological order, earlier preceding later.)

<sup>11</sup> The eight classes outlined here differ slightly from the eight classes which make up the outline for Part V, Heterodoxy, as shown in the first broad outline on p. 10; and both are considerably expanded in detail in the outlines later given for the chapters of Part V, pp. 105-110.

<sup>12</sup> Throughout the schedules, no notation is indicated for these minor subdivisions.

**L MYSTICAL AND ASCETICAL THEOLOGY**

1. On the Spiritual Life in general
2. On the Religious Life and the Evangelical Vows
3. On Prayer
4. On Practice of Virtues in general
5. On Virtues of childhood, youth, maturity, old age, and preparation for death
6. On the Perfection of Bishops, pastors, clerics, the married, virgins, widows
7. On the Rules of Perfection for princes, courtiers, judges, soldiers, merchants, craftsmen, farmers, masters and servants, the rich, the poor
8. On Worship of, and as it is called Devotion to, the Divine Persons of the Trinity, Christ Our Lord, and what is hallowed by Him, as His Cross, etc.
9. On Reverence for the Virgin Mother of God, and such matters as her Rosary, Sodalities, etc.
10. On Devotion to the Angels
11. On Devotion to the Saints, and their Relics, etc.  
(In each class, subdivide by languages, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, etc., and then by chronological order.)

**M PREACHING**

1. On the Art of Preaching
2. Material for Sermons, whether from Scripture, the Fathers, History, or personal experience
3. Collections of Sermons for the entire year
4. Sermons for Lent, either the whole or a part, such as the Passion of Christ
5. Sermons for Advent
6. Sermons for the Octave of Corpus Christi
7. Sermons for the Octave of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin
8. Sermons on what are called the Mysteries
9. Sermons on the Saints
10. Occasional Sermons
11. Catechetical Sermons

**II PHILOSOPHY****N PHILOSOPHY**

1. Ancient Philosophers, with later commentaries
2. Plato, all editions  
(Subdivisions: Commentaries, in Greek, Latin, and Vernacular: then Dissertations, in the same order, Greek, Latin, Vernacular.)

3. Aristotle, all editions  
(Same Subdivisions.)
4. Averroes, texts, and Dissertations about him
5. Universal Scholastics, that is, those who have covered the whole field of Scholastic Philosophy, and organized courses in it  
(Subdivided by "Schools", and chronologically under each "School".)
6. Particular Scholastics, that is, those who deal with one subject, and have written Treatises on Logic, Ethics, Physics, Metaphysics, and what is called Natural Theology
7. Spagyrist (Alchemists), and those who reconcile them with the Peripatetic School
8. Descartes, with his followers and opponents
9. Eclectics, who follow no School, but make up their own systems

#### O MATHEMATICS

1. General Treatises, covering the whole, or the greater part, of mathematics
2. Arithmetic, both theoretical and practical
3. Algebra
4. Speculative Geometry, plane and spherical
5. Practical Geometry
6. Astronomy, Cosmological and Planetary
7. Comets
8. Trigonometry
9. Ephemerides
10. Sun-Dials
11. Astronomical Instruments, Armillary Sphere, Astrolabe, etc.
12. Astrology
13. Other Arts of Divination, as Chiromancy, Geomancy, etc.
14. Music
15. Musical Instruments
16. Theory of Optics, including Dioptrics and Catoptrics
17. Perspective and Optical Magic
18. Painting
19. Sculpture and Plastic Arts
20. Weights of Solid and Fluid Bodies—Statics
21. Mechanics
22. Civil Architecture
23. Nautical Architecture and Navigation
24. Fortification
25. Crafts, wood-work, iron-work, etc., subsidiary to Architecture
26. Strategy
27. Tactics
28. Ordnance

29. Equitation
30. Ballistics, Pyrotechnics, Sapping

#### P MEDICINE

1. Hippocrates, all editions, with Commentaries and Dissertations
2. Galen, all editions, with Commentaries and Dissertations
3. Other Ancient Greeks, with Commentaries and Dissertations
4. Arabian Physicians, with Commentaries and Dissertations
5. Ancient Latin Physicians
6. General courses in Medicine
7. General Pathology
8. Diseases of Men, and Diseases of Women
9. Diseases of Childhood, Youth, Old Age, etc.
10. Diseases special to various Races
11. Special Pathology, of mind and body, of heart, head, lungs, stomach, joints, skin, etc.
12. Surgery  
(Subdivisions: General Treatises, and Specific Operations.)
13. Pharmacy  
(Subdivisions: General, and Special: such as Perfumery, Dyeing, Paint-making, Toxicology.)
14. Medical Chemistry
15. New Theories, Circulation of the Blood, etc.

#### Q PHILOLOGY

1. General Treatises on Languages and Linguistics
2. Hebrew Grammars, Dictionaries, Treatises
3. Other Oriental Languages, useful in biblical studies, with their Dictionaries, etc.
4. Greek Grammars, Dictionaries, Treatises
5. Latin " " "
6. French " " "
7. Italian " " "
8. Spanish " " "
9. German " " "
10. English " " "
11. Slavic " " "
12. Polish " " "
13. Turkish, Armenian, Coptic, etc.
14. Other Foreign Languages, especially those of the New World  
(Dictionaries and Dissertations with Grammars of each Language.)

#### R RHETORIC

1. The great Masters, Greek, Latin, Vernacular, with their Commentaries, Dissertations, and Translations



2. Ancient Greek Orators, in all notable editions, with their Commentaries, Dissertations, and Translations
3. Ancient Latin Orators, ditto
4. Recent Forensic Orators, with whom, because that kind of oratory is in part reprimanding, are joined writers of invectives, reproofs, famous lampoons, etc.
5. Recent Deliberative Orators, with whom are joined honorary and didactic writers
6. Recent Panegyrists
7. Orators who praise virtues
8. Orators who praise accomplishments
9. Letter-writers

#### S POETRY

1. Theory of Poetry
2. Greek Poets, collected and individual, all notable editions, with Commentaries in Greek, Latin, or Vernaculars, and Dissertations and Translations
3. Ancient Latin Poets, ditto
4. Medieval Poets
5. Recent Latin Poets
6. French Poets  
(Subdivision: Ancient, up to Ronsard; Recent, after Ronsard.)
7. Italian Poets
8. Spanish Poets
9. Poets of other languages

#### T LITERARY CRITICISM

1. Polygraphy, Polymathy, works on the rank of the liberal Arts, or on subjects variously concerned with the liberal Arts
2. Literary Criticism, illustrations, attacks, emendations, variant readings, of diverse Authors

### III HISTORY

#### Aa GEOGRAPHY

1. Ancient universal geographies, as they have been corrected or illustrated by various editors, keeping the chronological order amongst the Geographers and their commentators
2. Recent universal geographies, in chronological order
3. Ecclesiastical Geography, of the Holy Land, Dioceses of the Church, and the like, in the order of local dignity
4. Particular Civil Geographies, of kingdoms, provinces, etc., keeping the order of geographical divisions and of dignity within each division
5. Geography of Atlantis, as it is called, and such like
6. Travels, ancient, then modern

7. Hydrography and maritime Maps
8. Collections of Maps

**Bb CHRONOLOGY**

1. Theory of Chronology, ancient, modern, in order of time
2. Biblical Chronology, of Old and New Testament
3. Chronology of Old Testament only
4. Chronology of New Testament only

**Cc UNIVERSAL HISTORY**

1. General Works, including Sacred and Profane History
2. General History of Europe, Sacred and Profane
3. General History of Asia, Sacred and Profane  
(Africa and the Americas are dealt with under Ss, Foreign History, Sacred and Profane.)

**Dd GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY**

1. General History of Old Testament, ancient writers, then modern
2. Ancient General Histories of New Testament
3. Annals of Baronius, all editions, with Continuator, Abbreviators, Critics, hostile and friendly
4. Histories of New Testament, in whole or in part
5. History of Popes, first General Histories, then individual, in order of time
6. History of Cardinals, same order
7. History of Councils, same order
8. History of Idolatry
9. History of Heresies, same order
10. History of Schisms, same order
11. Controverted Points of Church History

**Ee CHURCH HISTORY BY NATIONS**

1. Church History of Italy and the Islands, Sicily, Malta, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearics
2. Church History of France
3. " " " Spain
4. " " " Germany, including Belgium: don't mind those who prefer to consider it with France
5. " " " England, with which Scotland and Ireland
6. " " " Northern Europe, Denmark, Sweden, Muscovy
7. " " " Eastern Europe, Poland, Hungary
8. " " " India, China, Japan
9. " " " South America, as Peru; then North America, as Mexico, the West Indies, Canada

**Ff HISTORY OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS**

1. General works on all Orders
2. History of Ancient Fathers
3. Order of St. Basil
4. Order of Hieronymites
5. Orders founded by St. Augustine, first Canons Regular, then Monks
6. Benedictines
7. Cistercians
8. Carthusians
9. Williamites
10. Premonstratensians
11. Order of Fontevault
12. Carmelites
13. Trinitarians and Mercedarians
14. Franciscans, Minorites, Recollects, Capuchins, Penitents, etc.
15. Dominicans
16. Servites
17. Jesuates
18. Celestines
19. Minims
20. Jesuits
21. Clerks Regular, Theatines, Barnabites, etc.
22. Congregations, such as the Oratory, etc.
23. Military Orders, Teutonic Knights, Templars, Hospitallers, St. James of Compostela, Calatrava, Alcantara, etc.
24. Modern Nuns, of St. Sepulcher, Immaculate Conception, Visitation, St. Ursula, Blessed Sacrament, etc.

**Gg HISTORY OF SAINTS**

1. General Martyrology, with Commentaries and Dissertations
2. Special Martyrologies, National, Provincial, Municipal, Religious Orders, with Commentaries and Dissertations
3. Collected Lives of Saints, Legends and Flores, as they are called, and the Acta Sanctorum of the whole Church, in the chronological order of publication
4. Acts of the Saints of individual Churches, nations, etc.
5. Individual Lives of Saints, in the order kept by the Church, Apostles first, then Martyrs, etc.

**Hh GREEK HISTORY**

1. Ancient Greek History, in chronological order of writers
2. Byzantine History, following the order of Father Labbé's scheme
3. Turkish History, by chronological order and languages of writers
4. Saracen History

**Ii ROMAN HISTORY**

1. History of the Republic
2. History of the Empire
3. History of the Western Empire

**Kk ITALIAN HISTORY**

1. General History of Italy, in this order: topography, events, leaders
2. History of Papal States, in the order of dignity of Provinces, with cities under each Province
3. History of Kingdom of Naples, in the same order
4. History of Grand Duchy of Etruria, in the same order, and therefore, including the History of Sienna
5. History of Parma and Placentia
6. History of Mantua and Montferrat
7. History of Milan
8. History of Mutina
9. History of Piedmont and Savoy
10. History of Venice
11. History of Genoa
12. History of Lucca
13. History of Ragusa
14. History of Sicily
15. History of Sardinia
16. History of Corsica
17. History of Malta
18. History of the Balearic and other small islands

**Ll FRENCH HISTORY**

1. General History, ancient
2. General History, modern
3. Treatises on the Royal rights, privileges, and dignity
4. History of individual Kings of the third dynasty, in chronological order
5. History of foreign and civil wars
6. History of Embassies and Treaties of Peace
7. Chronicles of each Reign
8. History of Paris
9. History of Burgundy
10. History of Normandy
11. History of Aquitaine and Bordeaux
12. History of Languedoc
13. History of Navarre and Bearn
14. History of Brittany
15. History of Champagne
16. History of Picardy
17. History of Dauphiné

18. History of Provence
19. History of Lyons
20. History of Orleans, Angers, and Tours
21. History of the Departments of the Army, Court, State, Justice, Treasury, and Commerce
22. History of Leaders of Army and Court
23. Miscellany, chiefly of collected and indexed pamphlets

**Mm SPANISH HISTORY**

1. Ancient History, or collections of older Writers
2. General modern History
3. Royal rights and privileges
4. Individual Kings of Castile, etc.
5. Chronicles and Ambassadors' Letters
6. History of civil strifes and foreign Wars
7. History of individual Kingdoms feudal to the Kings of Castile
8. Illustrious men of those Kingdoms
9. General History of Portugal
10. History of each King of Portugal
11. History of wars and expeditions
12. Chronicles and Ambassadors' Letters
13. History of the Provinces and Cities of Portugal
14. History of the Illustrious Men of Portugal

**Nn GERMAN HISTORY**

1. Ancient Germany, in Latin, German, French, then in other languages
2. Foundation of German Empire and rights of Emperor and Electors
3. Individual Emperors, chronologically
4. General History of the Electorates and Diets
5. History of each of the nine Electorates, keeping the order of Diets
6. Bohemia
7. Switzerland, keeping the order of what are called cantons
8. Illustrious men of Germany

**Oo BELGIAN HISTORY**

1. General History
2. History of strifes and wars, resulting in the split of the United Provinces
3. History of Brabant
4. " " Limburg
5. " " Luxemburg
6. " " Gelderland
7. " " Flanders
8. " " Artois
9. " " Hainaut



10. " " Holland
  11. " " Zeeland
  12. " " Namur
  13. " " Zutphen
  14. " " Antwerp
  15. " " Eastern Frisia
  16. " " Mechlin
  17. " " Utrecht
  18. " " Overijssel
  19. " " Groningen
- Pp HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN**
1. English History, ancient
  2. " " modern
  3. Scottish History, ancient
  4. " " modern
  5. Irish History, ancient
  6. " " modern
- Qq NORTHERN HISTORY**
1. General History of Denmark, Norway, Iceland
  2. History of each
  3. General History of Sweden, Gothland, Prussia
  4. History of each
- Rr HISTORY OF EASTERN EUROPE**
1. History of Muscovy general and particular
  2. " " Poland " " "
  3. " " Lithuania
  4. " " Hungary general and particular
  5. " " Pannonia
  6. " " Dacia or Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia,  
general and particular
- Ss FOREIGN HISTORY**
1. General History of the New World
  2. History of Syria and Cyprus
  3. " " Modern Persia
  4. " " India
  5. " " Mogul Empire
  6. " " China and adjacent kingdoms, Tongking, Cochin,  
etc.
  7. " " Japan
  8. " " Tartary
  9. " " Egypt and Ethiopia
  10. " " Barbary
  11. " " Farther Africa and the Islands
  12. " " South America, Brasil, Peru, etc.
  13. " " North America, Mexico, Canada, etc.

14. " " Islands adjoining America
15. Collected Travels
16. Travels by Land
17. Voyages

**Tt GENEALOGY**

1. Royal Genealogies in general
2. Ancient Roman Genealogies
3. French Genealogies, in order of dignity, Royal Family first
4. Italian Genealogies, in the usual order, Papal States, Kingdom of Naples, Principalities, Duchies, Republics, Islands
5. Spanish Genealogies, keeping the order of Kingdoms
6. German and Belgian Genealogies, in the order of Electorates & Provinces
7. English Genealogies
8. Danish, Swedish, etc. Genealogies
9. The Science of Heraldry
10. Heraldic History

**Vu LITERARY HISTORY**

1. General Bibliographies
2. Special Bibliographies  
(Six subdivisions: by Subjects, Nations, Religious Orders, Academies, Libraries, and Booksellers, such as the Frankfurt Fair and famous Publishing Houses.)
3. Literary and Artistic Biographies
4. History of Learned Academies
5. History of Printing

**Xx ICONOLOGY**

1. Pictures and statues of false Gods, holy persons, and illustrious Men
2. Symbols, Hieroglyphs, Devices, Emblems, in the order named
3. Medals, ancient and modern, and Coins: also weights and measures, because used in commerce
4. Epigraphy, which includes every sort of inscriptions, on Marbles and Gems, Vases and Urns, Obelisks and Triumphal Arches, Tombs and other monuments
5. History of Poms and Ceremonies, triumphal, funereal, games: amongst Triumphal are the Receptions of Princes and Nobles

**Yy NATURAL HISTORY**

1. General Works, as Pliny, all of whose editions have been gathered, with commentaries and dissertations
2. Of the Elements, and Elementary Compounds, Earth, Water, Air, Fire, the books keeping to the order in which these topics are named, which is also to be done in the following classes
3. Of Fossils, that is, Metals, Gems, Stones, Amber

4. Of Plants, both the common plants, and those special to certain regions: also books on Agriculture and Horticulture
5. Of Animals, first general treatises, then of Quadrupeds, Fishes, Birds, Reptiles, and Insects
6. Of the human body, first general works, then of each part, in the order usually followed by Anatomists
7. Of Spirits, especially evil spirits; for the angels, see Theology. Here also belong books on Energumens and Spectres
8. Of Monsters
9. Of Prodigies and Portents seen in the Elements, especially in the Air, in Fossils, Plants, Animals, Men

#### Zz SOCIOLOGY

1. Of natal days, life periods, food, clothing, housing, death, and burial
2. Of family life, marriage, husbands, wives, children, servants
3. Of minor social groups, neighborhoods, friendships, commercial relations, etc.
4. Of larger social groups, cities, kingdoms, religious rites, courts (Here also belong books about rewards and punishments, military service, merchandizing, crafts, farming, taxes, finance, games, celebrations, etc.)

#### & FICTION

1. Treatises illustrating, attacking, defending works of Fiction
2. Greek Fiction, prose first, then verse, both chronologically
3. Latin Fiction, prose and verse
4. Arabian Fiction
5. French, prose and verse
6. Italian, prose and verse
7. Spanish, prose and verse
8. Other Languages

### IV JURISPRUDENCE

#### α SOURCES OF CHURCH LAW

1. On the authority, assembly, and form of Councils
2. Older Collections of Councils and Papal Letters, from Isidore Mercator to Crabbe
3. Recent Collections of Councils and Papal Letters, from Crabbe to Labbé and Cossart.<sup>13</sup>
4. Individual General Councils, in chronological order
5. Dissertations on Councils, Historical, Didactic, or even Scholastic

<sup>13</sup> Pierre Crabbe (1470-1553), a Belgian Franciscan, published his *Concilia Omnia*, not a very satisfactory work, 2 vols. folio, Cologne, 1538. The much complete *Sacrosancta Concilia*, by the Jesuits, Philip Labbé (1623-1667) and Gabriel Cossart (1615-1674), in 17 volumes folio, was published at Paris, 1667-1671.

6. Digests or summaries of General Councils
7. Collections or interpretations of the General Canons, in Greek or Latin
8. Collections of National Councils, of Italy, France, etc., by nations
9. Letters and Bulls of Popes, in chronological order

β **CANON LAW**

1. Corpus of Canon Law, all editions of any probability, either complete or partial. In these are included the Decreta of Ivo, Burchard, etc.
2. General Commentaries
3. Commentaries on parts of the Corpus, keeping the order of the parts in the complete Corpus, and then chronologically by authors
4. Treatises on Canon Law itself, Lawyers, Procedure, and special problems raised by certain Canons
5. Treatises on the Church, Popes, Cardinals, Legates, and the Roman Curia
6. " " Bishops, Parish Priests, Canons, and other Clerics and holders of Benefices
7. " " Abbots and Religious in general
8. " " Mendicant Orders, and those having their privileges
9. " " Monks and Nuns
10. " " Military Orders
11. " " Confraternities and Sodalities
12. " " Hospitals and almshouses

(At this point Garnier inserts eleven classes dealing with the Divine Office, for which no notation is offered. They begin with General Works, then follow the order of Churches, Greek, Roman, Italian, etc., in the usual geographical order. The eleventh class is Chant Books, with or without musical notes.)

γ **ANCIENT AND ROMAN CIVIL LAW**

1. Greek Laws, with commentaries and dissertations
2. Treatises on the City of Rome, the Republic, Magistrates, Empire, Roman Law itself
3. Old Roman Law, with commentaries and dissertations
4. Theodosian Code, with commentaries and dissertations
5. Justinian Code, with commentaries and dissertations
6. Basilica Code, with dissertations<sup>14</sup>
7. Ancient Jurists, before sixteenth century
8. Modern Jurists, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

<sup>14</sup> The Basilica Code, in sixty books, was compiled under Basil I, 867-886.

# 8 FRENCH LAW

1. Works of famous French Jurists
2. Royal Laws, ancient such as Salic Law and Capitularies, modern such as Edicts, Ordinances, and Declarations of Kings, with commentaries
3. Provincial Laws, which are contained in the *Coustumes*, with commentaries
4. Statutes of the *Parlements*, with their commentaries and dissertations
5. Senatorial Decrees, collected or individual, with commentaries
6. Legal Procedures
7. Legal Cases, Magistrates rulings, or Advocates' Pleas
8. Famous Pleadings
9. Canon Law under Gallican interpretation

# ε FOREIGN LAW

1. Current Roman Law
2. Italian Law, by regions as in History of Italy
3. German Law, ancient and modern
4. Spanish Law, ancient and modern
5. English Law, the ancient, akin to Norman French, and the modern
6. Belgian Law, akin to the German
7. Dutch Law, ancient and modern
8. Danish and Norwegian Law
9. Swedish Law
10. Polish Law
11. Hungarian Law

# ζ LAW OF NATIONS

1. General and special Treatises on the Law of Nations
2. Leagues and Treaties of Popes with other Powers
3. " " " " the Empire with other Powers
4. " " " " the King of France with other Powers
5. " " " " the King of Spain " " "
6. " " " " the King of Great Britain etc.
7. " " " " the King of Denmark etc.
8. " " " " the King of Sweden etc.
9. " " " " the King of Poland etc.
10. " " " " the United Provinces etc.
11. " " " " Republics, Swiss, etc.
12. Treaties of Christian Princes with the Turks and other Mahometans

Garnier's "catalogues" V and VI are very minor parts of his scheme of classification, and have already been sufficiently indicated as containing the schedules for his separate collection of



heretical works, and for the collection of manuscripts. It remains now to say something about the value of his scheme of classification and its influence upon other classifiers.

### 3. CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF GARNIER'S CLASSIFICATION

In discussing the value of Garnier's *Systema*, we can save a great deal of time and energy by reminding ourselves at the start that it pretends to be no more than a record of what one librarian did in one library. It is not offered as a system of classification for universal adoption after the fashion, say, of the Decimal Classification, or the Expansive Classification, or the Subject Classification. In that case, one may ask, why publish the scheme? In his "Praefatio ad Lectorem," Garnier answers that question.

He published the *Systema*, because his friends had been asking him to publish the entire catalogue of the library. They asked him, because they thought the catalogue might be useful to others as a work of bibliography. But Garnier had two objections to make: to publish the whole catalogue would cost too much; and it would be cheeky to present himself as the first librarian to publish a catalogue in all Paris, where libraries abounded and where even the librarians of the Royal Library had not displayed their wares in public.<sup>15</sup> Hence he thought to keep a middle course, and to satisfy the requests of his friends by publishing, not his catalogue, but an outline of how he went about classifying the library.

In doing even that, he expressed a twofold hope: that his readers might find in his scheme some useful suggestions; and that they might help him to correct its defects. It is a very modest challenge, tentative, even a little diffident, not an assured structure of classification boldly proposed for acceptance by other librarians. Garnier, we may assume, believed that he had done a good piece of work in classifying the College library; he

<sup>15</sup> The first catalogue published in Paris seems to have been printed a year after Garnier published his *Systema*. It was a catalogue of the famous library that had once belonged to President de Thou; his heirs sold it in 1680 to Cardinal de Rohan. After the Royal Library, established at Fontainebleau by Francis I, had been brought to Paris in 1570, it was catalogued by Nicolas Rigault in 1622 (it had then less than 6,000 volumes); it was catalogued again in 1684 by Nicolas Clément (when it had grown to about 35,500 volumes), and again by Clément in 1697. But Clément did not succeed in getting his catalogue printed. In fact, the first serious beginnings of published catalogues came only in 1868, under the librarian Taschereau, when the Royal Library had for seventy-two years been made the Bibliothèque Nationale. (Émile Leroy, *Guide Pratique des Bibliothèques de Paris*, Paris, 1937, 18-20, 25.)

felt no reason to be ashamed of it; but there is not a touch of boasting in his account of the work, or any expectation that he was to revolutionize library classification.

The strength of his scheme of classification, so considered, was that it suited his books. The grounds of his modest hope that the scheme might in some measure be suited to the uses of other librarians were quite simply that other libraries of his time had book collections very similar in their general character to those of the library of the College of Clermont. That was one of the reasons why there was no startling originality in his scheme. He followed the traditional divisions of knowledge, accepted at that time by every librarian. It is not without significance that when, a year later, Joseph Quesnel edited and published the *Bibliotheca Thuana*, which embodied the cataloguing work of the brothers, Pierre and Jacques Du Puy, of Ismael Boulliaud, and his own, the scheme of classification used was so much like that of Garnier that bibliographers long after disputed as to which of the two, Boulliaud or Garnier, was the real deviser of the scheme.<sup>16</sup>

Garnier walked a beaten path in his classification; the best that he might have asked to be said of him was that he walked it straight; or, to drop the feeble metaphor, that he used the accepted elements of classification with logical consistency, and with a fair knowledge of the books to be classified. Since we have no first-hand knowledge of the library of the College of Clermont, it is impossible to be very positive in any judgment as to how well his classification stands up under that test.

But it is irrelevant to point out weaknesses in his schedules

<sup>16</sup> Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553-1617) was a member of a rich and powerful family of political lawyers, and had been president of the council under Henry IV. Like other members of the family, he was an erudite man. He inherited a fine library, and made it a renowned library. When he was Master of the Royal Library, he made two of his relatives, Pierre Du Puy (1582-1651) and Jacques Du Puy (1586-1656), keepers of the library. (It was they who, in 1620, after his death, edited the fifth part of de Thou's *Historiae Sui Temporis*, a work of the first importance.) At some time around 1650, the brothers Du Puy made a *Catalogus Bibliothecae Thuanae ordine Alphabetico Digestus*, a simple alphabetical list of the books in de Thou's library. After their death, the eminent astronomer, Ismael Boulliaud (the name is spelled half a dozen ways) devised a classification for the library. Finally, Joseph Quesnel, who had succeeded Boulliaud in the task, added an index of authors, wrote an explanatory preface, and edited and published the work of his predecessors as the *Bibliotheca Thuana*, in 1679. Boulliaud (1605-1694), although he became a Catholic late in life, was for most of his life a Huguenot. There is no evidence that he was on friendly terms with Garnier. Quesnel was tinged with Jansenism, and hence was also not likely to have compared work-notes with Garnier. (See Adrien Baillet, *Jugemens des Scavans etc.*, II, 260-263; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, ss. vv.)

from the point of view of a modern library, or to say that they do not provide for books and subjects that did not exist when Garnier worked and wrote, or to complain, as Sayers does of Brunet's expansion of Garnier's scheme some hundred and thirty years later, that it "is already old-fashioned and is conditioned, as one might expect, by the state of knowledge of its day."<sup>17</sup> Every scheme of classification must lie open to that criticism drawn from the *futuribilia*.

What may more reasonably be pointed out as defects of Garnier's scheme are the occasional fumbings in his details. An instance occurs under the heading "Rhetoric" (R), where he seems at a loss how to provide for Satire, and forces it in with "Recent Forensic Orators" on the trumpery ground that speeches in trial courts are also at times a kind of invective.<sup>18</sup> Another instance can be seen in his curious vagueness under the heading, "Historia Artificialis" (Zz), roughly translated above as "Sociology." He arranged his sequences in the order of the extent of groups mounting up from the family to nations, and suddenly seemed to find himself with a lot of subjects on his hands which did not fit into his scheme. Instead of setting about a proper reorganization of the entire class, he lumped together in a sort of footnote the whole vague bundle of them, merely saying:

Under this heading belong also books that deal with rewards and punishments, military service, merchandizing, handicrafts, farming, finance, taxes, games, celebrations."<sup>19</sup>

That is manifestly sloppy workmanship, and bad library practice: a Homeric nod, to say the least. Possibly it may be explained as the display of an old scholar's petulant disregard of details in which he was not personally interested.

Yet instances such as these are infrequent; and except for them, his work is tight and neat. He is at times more logical than sensible; but so were Bouilliaud and Nicolas Clément and the Jesuits Claude Clément and Honoré Fabri and the earlier Gabriel Naudé and Antonio Possevino and all the other seventeenth-century classifiers whose work has come down to us.<sup>20</sup> It was an

<sup>17</sup> W. C. Berwick Sayers, *Manual of Classification*, London, 1926, 123.

<sup>18</sup> *Systema*, 45.

<sup>19</sup> *Systema*, 89.

<sup>20</sup> Some of these men, who wrote, not for librarians, but for cultured readers in general, or for students, had much to do with establishing the common approach to books. An instance is a book by the Jesuit Honoré Fabri (1607-1688) with an immensely long title beginning, *Euphiander, seu Vir Ingeniosus*, published at Lyon in 1669. The third part, "De Disciplinis" is in effect a kind of classification of knowledge. It had at least nine editions up to 1763. (Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, III, 515, 22.)

age which would rather have forced reasons than none at all. But if that sort of classification pleased the library patrons of that day, who are we to complain about it? The mark of seventeenth-century France is distinctly upon Garnier's whole scheme, just as certainly as the mark of twentieth-century America is upon the grandiose Library of Congress scheme: quite properly so, since Garnier worked in a seventeenth-century French library.

Abstract criticism of Garnier's classification is a sheer waste of time. There is not a system of classification in existence, even our most comprehensive and elaborate, that can stand undamaged before purely speculative criticism. Every library classification is a compromise, a balancing arrangement between the known past and the unknown future, between the physical rigidity of the existing stock of books and the flexibility of expansion to care for books that may come, even between a philosophy based upon enduring principles and a sheer, expedient eclecticism; and that kind of compromise must, in this imperfect world, forever keep changing, as the stock of books changes, and as the compromisers change their mental attitudes. So Garnier's arrangement may be called narrow, and quaint, and even intolerant, by men whose mental processes would seem to Garnier appalling in their uncertain hold upon principles and their chaotic inclusiveness. The value of his classification can be measured practically in only two ways: in its effectiveness in his own library (of which we can no longer judge); and in its influence upon other classifiers who borrowed from it.

#### 4. INFLUENCE OF GARNIER'S CLASSIFICATION

It would be easy to fall into the error of exaggerating Garnier's influence on later French classifiers, forgetting how many others besides him have contributed to the system so widely used throughout France as to be called simply "the French System." Any such exaggeration would be stupid. From the time when the use of printing began to multiply the number of books, librarians and others concerned with the production and distribution of books gave renewed attention to the ancient problem of classification, a problem as old as libraries themselves. Scores of schemes were proposed, ranging from the single sheet of broad headings by Aldus Manutius in 1498 to the elaborate philosophical analysis of subjects in Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca Universalis*, incompletely published at Zurich, in 1545 and 1549. But most of these schemes were neglected and forgotten, so far as



library practice was concerned. In point of fact, they were largely theoretical organizations of knowledge rather than practical efforts to classify books. That is notably true of Gesner's classification. Gabriel Naudé alone, of the writers who in the era of printed books antedate Garnier, offered specific suggestions to help a librarian in the actual task of classifying books in a library.<sup>21</sup> And Baillet disposes of Naudé by lumping him in with the other prosy generalizers on classification.<sup>22</sup> Yet all these predecessors of Garnier had a large indirect influence upon library practice, because they gave a more or less fixed form to the commonly accepted divisions of the field of knowledge, and therefore established the definite framework within which Garnier and those who followed him were to work.

Any claims made for Garnier must, therefore, do no more than try to give him his place as one amongst many. But just as stupid as claiming too much for Garnier is the attempt made by some writers to thrust him aside and deny him any influence at all. It is hard to avoid the suspicion that some of the hostility shown toward Garnier by modern writers springs from an unconscious prejudice against him as a Jesuit. Without entering into controversy on that point, which, besides being fruitless, would carry us too far afield, it may be of service here briefly to summarize some of the evidence for Garnier's influence upon later classifiers, and to indicate the direction of his specific contributions to classification.

Garnier's work as a pioneer in library classification had its greatest single effect in offering a foundation for "the French System," which even today is the basic system used in France and in many parts of the Continent. The final deviser of "the French System" was Jacques-Charles Brunet (1780-1867), in the "Table Méthodique" which formed the last volume of his *Manuel du Librarian et de l'Amateur des Livres*, first published in 1810, and successively enlarged to the fifth edition, 6 vols., 1860-1865. The kinship between Brunet's classification and Garnier's can be

<sup>21</sup> Gabriel Naudé (1600-1653), after a few years of experience in the library of de Mesmes, published his *Advis pour Dresser une Bibliothèque*, Paris, 1627. It is a small book, of nine chapters, five of them concerned with the selection and purchase of books for a library. As a matter of perspective, it should be noted that Naudé devotes one chapter, the seventh, to classification, and another chapter, the eighth, to bookbinding. The book is very rare, even in the reprint which Louis Jacob included in his *Traité des plus Belles Bibliothèques*, Paris, 1644. It was translated into English by John Evelyn, as *Instructions Concerning Erecting a Library*, London, 1661; and a Latin translation was published by J. A. Schmidt in 1703. (Nicéron, *Mémoires*, IX, 37 sqq.)

<sup>22</sup> Adrien Baillet, *Jugemens des Sçavans*, II, 264.



studied by comparing the two, or even in a comparison of good outlines of the two schedules.<sup>23</sup> But the limits set for this paper forbid attempting to make the comparison here.

When Brunet published his scheme of classification, the Jesuits had been banished from France for forty-eight years (their exile began eighteen years before Brunet was born), and had been suppressed by the Pope for thirty-seven years. It is possible, but not certain, that Brunet had read Garnier's *Systema*. It is almost certain that he did not borrow directly from Garnier. The connection between the two was remote, the links being a number of booksellers of Paris, erudite men, engaged in practical bibliography.

The first of these seems to have been that queer, but in many ways admirable, fellow, Prosper Marchand (1675-1756), who conducted the book-shop "Phenix" at Paris, in the Rue St. Jacques, from 1698 to 1711. In the latter year he removed to Amsterdam, for the reason that he had rather violently taken up Calvinism, and as a consequence was at outs with his Catholic environment. He wrote a number of books, with more erudition than literary skill, most of them concerned with bibliography and the history of printing, and edited two satirical works against the Jesuits.<sup>24</sup> But before he became a zealous Calvinist, when he was still a neighbor of the old College of Clermont in the Rue St. Jacques, he published, in 1709, his *Epitome Systematis Bibliographici*, as a prefatory essay to his catalogue of the library of Joachim Faultrier. Although he reduced Garnier's four main classes to three, philosophy, theology, and history, his immediate borrowings from Garnier's sequences are evident at sight. But his scheme, for various reasons, made no great impression on the booksellers of Paris.

A more important link was Gabriel Martin (1679-1761), another Parisian bookseller. Between 1705 and his death, Martin

<sup>23</sup> Outlines of schemes of classification are not always trustworthy. Writers on the subject seem to borrow outlines from one another with an odd carelessness, and without always consulting the original classification itself. But the outline of Brunet's system in Sayers, *Manual of Classification*, Table III, pp. 120-121, is a good one. It will serve for comparison with the outline of Garnier's scheme given in this article.

<sup>24</sup> He edited *Histoire de l'Admirable Dom Inigo de Guipuscoa, Chevalier de la Vierge, et Fondateur de la Monarchie des Inighistes*, etc. Par le Sieur Hercule Rasiel de Selva (a pseudonym for Pierre Quesnel), 2 vols., La Haye, 1736; and re-edited *Histoire Critique de l'Anti-Cotton*, La Haye, 1738, a work originally written in 1610 by Cesar de Plaix. Both works went through a number of editions.

catalogued 147 private libraries.<sup>25</sup> For his classification he leaned chiefly on Garnier, with some added borrowings from Bouilliaud; but he modified both considerably. For instance, he accepted Bouilliaud's order of the main divisions, putting "Jurisprudence" between "Theology" and "Philosophy"; he made main divisions out of "Sciences and Arts" and "Literature," which Garnier had dealt with as classes under the main division of "Philosophy." His borrowings from each, and his own modifications, may be studied in the catalogue that Martin made for Butteau's library.<sup>26</sup>

More than fifty years later, Guillaume-François de Bure (1731-1782), also a bookseller of Paris, took up Martin's arrangement and expanded it considerably, in his monumental *Bibliographie Instructive, ou Traité de la Connaissance des Livres Rares et Singuliers*, 7 vols., Paris, 1763-1768. De Bure, with his cousin, Guillaume de Bure, who died in 1820, commanded a good deal of respect in the bibliographic world; hence his fuller schedules of classification were widely used.

It was because of the work of these men that Brunet, when he published the "Table Méthodique en Forme de Catalogue Raisonné," could say in the preface that he was following "the classification adopted in the bibliographic system most generally used in France; a system which, although imperfect, is still the most reasonable we have: it has the added advantage of being used by every one; I have permitted myself to make some slight changes in it only in the subdivisions."<sup>27</sup> It was, of course, the system inherited from Garnier and Bouilliaud, modified and expanded by Martin and de Bure.

As late as 1841, when Brunet's *Manuel* was about ready for its fourth edition, Etienne Gabriel Peignot (1767-1849), himself a noted bibliographer and a recognized authority on the subject, felt free to write: "Le système du P. Garnier, remanié par Martin, et complété par de Bure, doit être suivi de préférence."<sup>28</sup> To Peignot the genesis of the wisely accepted French classification was quite clear.

Thomas Hartwell Horne proposed, in 1825, a modified form of this classification to be used in the library of the British

<sup>25</sup> Etienne-Gabriel Peignot, *Dictionnaire Raisonné de Bibliologie*, 2 vols., Paris, 1802, II, 236.

<sup>26</sup> *Bibliotheca Bultelliana*, Paris, 1711.

<sup>27</sup> *Manuel du Libraire, etc.*, 1st ed., Paris, 1810, I, vii.

<sup>28</sup> *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (de Techener), Paris, 1841, 7:565. It is significant that this periodical added *et du Bibliothécaire* to its title only after 1857. Bibliography in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century France was developed by learned booksellers rather than by librarians. In fact, the "French System" is often called "the System of the Paris Booksellers."

Museum;<sup>29</sup> and although his proposal was not accepted, the scheme actually put into use shows strongly the influence of "the French System."<sup>30</sup> In Paris, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, have classifications which, in some elements, date back to the catalogues of the old Royal Library made by Nicolas Clément in 1684 and 1697. Clément's work was evidently influenced by Garnier and Bouilliaud, the two men whose schemes of classification were published just a few years before he made his catalogue. But since the reform begun by Taschereau in 1858, these libraries have made much use of the more extensive developments in Brunet's scheme.<sup>31</sup> The connection between these two schemes must be looked for, not so much in the arrangement of the main divisions of the classifications, as in the way in which the details are ordered within the large classes.<sup>32</sup>

As a matter of fact, a study of outlines only in the main divisions is never very revealing, and may be misleading. Thus, if one considers the three great American systems of classification, the Decimal, Expansive, and Library of Congress, only in the broad outlines of their main divisions, it is impossible to say just how much or how little kinship they have with Garnier's system. On the one hand, main classes in every scheme of classification can scarcely avoid being somewhat alike, since in every scheme the main divisions seek to quarter the same field of knowledge and of books. On the other hand, rearranging or shifting the order of the large divisions is evidently only a minor change. The heart of every scheme of classification is in the sequences that develop each of the large classes; and it is to these that one must look for essential likenesses and differences. So far as the present

<sup>29</sup> *Outlines for the Classification of a Library*, London, 1825.

<sup>30</sup> Sayers, *Manual of Classification*, 123.

<sup>31</sup> The Bibliothèque Nationale and the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève are old libraries. The Bibliothèque Nationale was the old Royal Library, existing from the time of King Jean II, 1319-1364, and got its present name from a decree of the Revolutionary Convention, January 27, 1794. The Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, at first only a small collection of MSS in the twelfth-century Abbey of that name, was made of importance after 1624 by the gifts of Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld. It also was nationalized in the Revolution. Since 1926, these two libraries, with the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal and the Mazarine, have been switched back and forth in various administrative shuffles of the "Réunion de Bibliothèques Nationales de Paris." See E. Leroy, *Bibliothèques de Paris*, 1937, 5-7. For the classification, see E. G. Ledos, *Histoire des Catalogues des Livres Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1936. For Sainte-Geneviève, see Alfred Bougy, *Histoire de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, Paris, 1847.

<sup>32</sup> An outline of the main classes for the Bibliothèque Nationale is given by Leroy, *op. cit.*, 35-36.

writer knows, neither Melvil Dewey nor Charles Ammi Cutter ever even saw a copy of Garnier's book; and the Library of Congress classifiers built upon Cutter and Dewey. Yet even in the work of these Americans, the influence of Garnier can be seen: more indirect and more feeble, of course, than in the "French System," but demonstrably present.

The American classifiers organized their large outlines of classification to meet a number and variety of books vastly different from those that Garnier faced; and they worked in and for libraries that differed still more from Garnier's in their philosophy of life and education. But within those broad outlines they found themselves using certain principles of order which Garnier, first amongst librarians, set down definitely and methodically in print. He did not invent those principles of order, but he did apply them to the practical business of classifying the library of the College of Clermont. It is not too much to say that he was the first and most influential writer on the subject to emphasize the supreme importance of organizing the sequences under the main classes. That idea was the first one borrowed by all his successors from Garnier.

The second influence of Garnier, even upon the Americans who knew nothing of him and did not give him a thought, came through his recognition and exposition of the value of mnemonic recurrences in the structure of the sequences. For instance, wherever nations are used as a basis of subdivision in a class, the national distinctions always come in the same order. We use an order different from Garnier's; but we got the idea of the recurring order originally from him. It is an idea made use of in form divisions in every scheme of classification today.

These two important elements of Garnier's classification have really been the reason for his lasting influence, direct and indirect. His main divisions have been shifted about and split up and increased in number, so that they are not recognizable in modern schemes of classification. His tight logical reasoning to establish his classes has been abandoned pretty completely. But his practical guidance in pointing out the value of coherence and mnemonic recurrence in the minor sequences has been adopted everywhere.

The whole line of argument can be summed up this way: two and a half centuries ago, Garnier published the first book in print that embodied a technique of practical classification as it was used in an actual library; the library concerned was, as Edwards says, one of the best used libraries in Paris, and continued to be

widely known and used for another seventy-five years; other bibliographers openly borrowed from, and modified, Garnier's scheme; several important elements of his classification so recommended themselves to other librarians that they have been universally adopted and have become a common possession, into whose origin few enquire. It does not seem rash to conclude from these facts that Garnier's classification has considerable value in itself, and that it has proven to be of no slight help to all those who, since his time, have been engaged in the Sisyphean task of library classification.

But when that is said, common-sense compels us to add that Garnier's work, like that of all his fellow-contributors to the art of classifying books, remains a relatively small affair in the field of human learning, and an infinitesimal achievement in the total of human wisdom. Librarians are only the janitors, clerks, and office-boys of the learned world, the keepers and administrators of the written records of what God has taught men and men have laboriously found out for themselves. Librarians are the lowly guardians of learning and wisdom, making no substantive addition to either, content to set in order and to make available to other men what greater than they have created.

W. KANE

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## DOCUMENTS

### Death Site of Father Marquette

The following is an extract from an undated letter written by Father Gabriel Richard of Detroit to Father Le Saulnier, curé of Montreal. It is found incorporated in another letter of Richard's with date-line, Detroit, August 27, 1827, but written at widely separated intervals of time. The content of the dated letter makes it clear that the erection of the cross at Marquette's grave by Father Richard is to be assigned to 1821, in which year the latter made a trip by a sailing vessel from Detroit to Mackinac, thence along the east shore of Lake Michigan and back to Mackinac, from which place he journeyed to Chicago and thence to the Mississippi. The passage cited is an interesting item of Marquettiana; it supplies important data for identifying the spot where Marquette died and it gives an account of the earliest memorial ceremony known to have taken place at the same spot. The account is here reproduced in English, apparently for the first time, the original letter in French having been published a hundred and twelve years ago (1828).

"I write to you about the Pere Marquet River. (I was detained there eight days by contrary winds). That ought to be enough to make my letter interest you. Here [at this river] are ten families of the Ottawa Nation or the Courtes-Oreilles. I had them questioned with a view to learn from them where [Father Marquette], missionary of the Society of Jesus, had been buried. . . .

"The Ottawa Indians led me to the place where the river emptied in 1675, at the time Father Marquet entered it the 8th of May and died there the 9th [18th] of May. Now it empties at least three thousand feet further up, namely, to the south (for Lake Michigan has discharged its waters for several centuries since by the Strait of Michilli-Mackinac into Lake Huron) between two capes more than sixty feet high, which seem to have been separated by the combined effort of tempests and waves. The place they pointed out to me is about two hundred and forty feet from the present shore of Lake Michigan on the south bank of the old bed of the river which bears the name of Pere Marquette but is today [1821] really to the north of the present river and twenty-eight hundred feet from it; for it is certain that

it changed its course a few weeks after the death of Father Marquet as though in respect for the precious remains of the holy man. This is remarked by travellers, even Protestant ones, in the accounts they have published of their travels, and the fact is confirmed by a tradition preserved even to this day among the old folk of the country. I planted a cross there in presence of eight Ottawa and two Catholics, Frederic Countryman, who made the cross, and Charles Rousseau, a young Canadian of Montreal of your acquaintance, on the same spot where the Indians told me they had seen one that had been planted by Canadians, but had been carried away by the winds about three years ago. With my penknife I carved on the cross this inscription in English:

Fr. Jh. Marquet,

Died Here 9 [18] May 1675

"The following Sunday I celebrated the holy mysteries under a tent, at the present mouth of the river; in the afternoon we went in procession from the altar set up in the morning for Mass, fifty persons, two by two, English, Canadians, Indians. Singing the litanies of the Holy Virgin, we went along the lake on the low smooth sandy shore to the cross erected over the tomb of Father Marquette. You can readily imagine how easy it was to be eloquent in this wild place and at the tomb of a missionary to whom the tradition of the land attributes miracles. There we sang a *Libera* and then returned to our chapel and camping place, chanting the litanies of the saints as we went. In the night the wind changed, blowing in a direction opposite to that which it had been taking for eight days. We attributed this favor to the good missionary at whose tomb we had done reverence" (*Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi*, Lyons, 1828, III, 339-341).

Two years after his death Marquette's remains were disinterred by Kishkakon (Ottawa) Indians and conveyed by them to St. Ignace at the Straits of Mackinac, where they were buried under the mission church (1677). The earliest known subsequent attempt to identify the site of his first burial at the Pere Marquette River was made by the Jesuit historian and traveller, Pere F. X. Charlevoix in 1721. (See his contemporary account in his *Journal of a Voyage to North America*.) The earliest mention of a cross at Marquette's grave occurs in Gordon Saltonstall Hubbard's *Autobiography* (Chicago, 1911), pp. 31-32, in connection

with a trip made by him along the east shore of Lake Michigan in 1821:

"Our journey around Lake Michigan was rather a long one, having occupied about twenty days. Nothing of interest transpired until we reached Marquette River, about where the town of Ludington now stands. This was the spot where Father Marquette died, about one hundred and forty years before, and we saw the remains of a red cedar cross, erected by his men at the time of his death to mark his grave; and though his remains had been removed to the mission at Point St. Ignace, the cross was held sacred by the voyageurs, who, in passing, paid reverence to it by kneeling and making the sign of the cross. It was about three feet above the ground and in a falling condition. We reset it, leaving it out of the ground about two feet, and as I never saw it after, I doubt not that it was covered by the drifting sands of the following winter, and that no white man ever saw it afterwards."

It will be noted that according to Hubbard the cross seen by him was the actual one planted by the two voyageurs who buried Marquette. This may be doubted; but that they did mark the grave with a cross may be taken for granted, as, according to Father Dablon's account, Marquette had requested them to do so.

The record of the successive memorial crosses over Pere Marquette's first grave runs as follows:

1675—Cross planted by the two voyageurs.

1818—Cross seen by G. S. Hubbard.

1821—Cross planted by Father Richard.

1850—Cross seen by Mrs. Dardleska C. Hull (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, IX [1927], 358, 361).

1938—Present cross of wood.

1940—May 18, ground broken for cross of stainless steel.

G. J. GARRAGHAN

## Notes and Comment

### NEW FRANCE AND LOUISIANA

The only connection between the books and booklets listed below is that they all deal with the French empire in North America over a period ranging from the beginning of the seventeenth century down to the collapse of French rule in the immense area which includes the basins of the St. Lawrence and of the Mississippi. Insofar as these books encompass a longer period, they fall outside the scope of the comments that will be made here.

The first laborers in New France, referred to in the title of Father Pouliot's book, are the Jesuits Ennemond Massé and Anne de Nouë (*Premiers Ouvriers de Nouvelle-France*, Collection "Service de Dieu," by Léon Pouliot, S. J., Montreal, 1940, 150 pp.). Of the 150 pages, twenty are given to the preface and the foreword, one hundred to Father Massé, and the remaining pages describe the death of Father de Nouë in a blizzard while on an errand of charity. According to the preface, Father Massé was the first Jesuit missionary in Canada; this statement is qualified in the foreword so as not to exclude Father Biard who came with Massé in 1611, but simply "to call attention to the very close connection between Father Massé and the missions of New France in the seventeenth century." The account of Massé's activities in New France is based on the *Jesuit Relations* and on the writings of Champlain. The missionary came three times to Canada. Arriving in 1611, he was expelled two years later at the time of the Argall raid. Massé was one of the three missionaries who came back in 1625, only to be expelled a second time in 1629, when the Kirke brothers took Quebec. He was again in Canada in 1633, and remained in the colony until his death in 1646, at Sillery; and he has the unique distinction of being the only Jesuit missionary to North America who has a monument erected over his tomb.

Father Pouliot's contention, stated several times, is that Massé's return to France and his fourteen years sojourn there, from 1611 to 1625, were providential: for through his influence in the College of La Flèche, he fired many young men with his zeal for the missions, and remains "one of the elements without which the great epic of the Jesuits in New France during the seventeenth century is not explained."

The intervention of Divine Providence in human affairs and in particular to those of the wild Indian days is too much of a medieval concept for the author of another book dealing with the French Jesuits of New France. But this work of George T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois*, is reviewed elsewhere in this number.

The book of Dr. Audet (*Les Premiers Etablissements Français au*

*Pays des Illinois. La Guerre des Renards*, by F. Emile Audet, Paris, 1938, 224 pp.) also deals with the Indians in French colonial times, mainly with the Fox Wars, as the subtitle indicates. The treatment of this central episode is almost wholly based on manuscript sources. In the chapters giving the background, there are errors of fact which could easily have been avoided. For instance, La Salle, on failing to find Tonti at Fort Crèvecoeur in 1680, is said to have gone to the mouth of the Mississippi. The mouth of the Illinois River is undoubtedly meant. There was probably never a time when 20,000 Indians gathered around Starved Rock; certainly not in 1683. La Salle did not build an "entrepôt" at Chicago in 1683; and the fort which Denonville ordered to be built "à Detroit" was not situated where Cadillac later founded his village in 1701. The author's statement, page 34, note 2, "La Salle croyait que les Jésuites indisposaient les sauvages contre lui," disagrees with the conclusion of C. W. Alvord, who wrote: "The cause of this [Iroquois-Illinois] war seems to have been wholly economic, in spite of La Salle's belief that it was due to the intrigues of his enemies, the Jesuits." The place where Father Gravier died is not known; and Varlet did little more than pass through the Illinois country. As for the number of Indians at Detroit shortly after it was founded, six thousand, it is taken from a letter of Cadillac which on examination proves to be filled with gasconades, the six thousand Indians being one of them.

In spite of these errors, several important points are clearly established. Dr. Audet calls attention to the deplorable rivalry between Canada and Louisiana over the Illinois country; as late as 1734, Beauharnois refused to allow one hundred Canadian families to settle in Illinois. Against this opposition, the country progressed; almost unanimously travelers looked upon it as the granary of Louisiana. In conclusion the strategic importance of the Illinois country is emphasized, an importance better understood by the English than by the French. When the English took it, "they smashed the center of French power, seizing the rich territory of the Great Lakes Region, and by separating the two sister colonies, they weakened them both."

A curious mistake occurs in the selective bibliography at the end of the book, where the two letters S. J. occur after Hennepin's name. It is apparently a typographical error, for on page 34, Hennepin is correctly referred to as a Recollect.

Louisiana, which is only mentioned incidentally in the preceding work, is the subject of the next book to be commented upon (*The Catholic Church in Louisiana*, by Roger Baudier, New Orleans, 1939, 605 pp. plus a 57-page index not numbered). It deals with the history of the Catholic Church in the state of Louisiana from the first appearance of missionaries on the Gulf Coast down to the time of the present Archbishop of New Orleans. The opening sentence of the Foreword reads: "To fill a longfelt need among librarians, journalists, teachers,



professors of history, writers, research workers, the clergy and religious, and the public in general as well, for a complete history of the Catholic Church in the state of Louisiana, the author undertook the laborious task of compiling such a work. . . ." Another laborious task unfortunately, remains to be done by those who wish to verify Mr. Baudier's statements, for the system of footnotes adopted by him is of no use whatever. Quite generally, once the bare essentials of the title of a book have been given in the footnote, there is an annoying repetition of "op. cit." without any indication of volume or page. A few instances of insufficient reference may be worth noting. Should one wish to find which river is identified as the Rio del Espiritu Santo, he would have to spend valuable time discovering the relevant passages in the three books referred to, for the pages where these writers mention this river are not given. Again, a statement on page 16 is annotated as follows: "Schlarman, op. cit. Chretien LeClercq, Etablissement de la Foi dans la Nouvelle France." The reader does not know whether the latter title refers to the original or to Shea's translation, and there is no inkling, either here or in the bibliography at the end of the book, that both the original and the translation are in two volumes. Has the author actually used either? There is room for doubt, seeing that in the next footnote, the narrative attributed to Father Membré is quoted from B. F. French's collection; and here again, one is not told in which of the seven parts of the collection the account is to be found. The very first mention (p. 20) of Margry's six-volume, unindexed compilation is as follows: "Margry, op. cit." Nowhere is the title of Margry's work listed, not even in the bibliography at the end of the book. Apart from such important omissions, this bibliography is generally unsatisfactory. The first title reads thus: "Abstracts of French and Spanish Documents, LHQ." LHQ is scarcely an adequate reference to a series such as the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, of which the current volume is No. XXIII. Moreover, in the bibliography alphabetical order is not followed, except as regards the first letter of the first word of a title or an author's name.

The references to the archives are not much more helpful. The series referred to as PANC-C 13 AG:395-408 vo I. 1722-1723 is, for some obscure reason not otherwise identified; and the series *Correspondence Générale, Louisiane*, is sometimes quoted as C 13A, vol. 8, and sometimes as C 13, vol. VIII. Greater care and consistency are highly desirable in a work avowedly intended to be of service to professors of history or to others desirous of ascertaining how authoritative is the evidence on which statements rest. That some verification is not only desirable but necessary seems clear from such inaccuracies as the following.

The Recollect who arrived (p. 18) with La Salle in 1675 was not Chretien, but Maxime Le Clercq. The narrative attributed to Membré in Le Clercq is not Membré's; it was written in Paris by the unknown

editor of the *First Establishment*, who made use of the so-called official report. This latter is composed of some information about the Mississippi, a letter of Tonti, and a letter of Father Membré; and in Membré's letter there is no mention whatever of his celebrating Mass; Membré makes no explicit mention either of March 29, or of Easter Sunday; the date and the feast are given by Tonti. The first specific date in the missionary's letter is April 7, 1682, when the expedition reached the Gulf; March 17, which is found in Margry, p. 209, is not in the manuscript; it is an addition of the editor. The Mississippi had been named *Rivière Colbert* long before La Salle descended it.

The words in quotation marks on page 17, as of Tonti, are in the *procès-verbal* of La Metairie. Very startling indeed is the statement (p. 17), that "when Governor Frontenac was informed of the immense territory explored by La Salle . . . he suggested the formation of a Vicariate Apostolic." As a matter of fact, when the news of the discovery reached Quebec, in the latter part of 1682, Frontenac was making ready to leave for France, having been recalled by the king the preceding May. In France, he was in disgrace; so much so that it took his influential friends two years to obtain from the king some financial help of which Frontenac was in great need. He had other things to think about beside the erection of an Apostolic Vicariate in America. Again, it is a surprise to be told that Father Anastasius recognized the lower course of the Mississippi when he saw it with Iberville in 1699, considering that the missionary had seen the river but once before, ten years earlier, and at a point 700 miles above its mouth. The statement, page 49, that the sisters who landed at Biloxi in 1721 were "the second nuns to come to the Louisiana colony" is inaccurate. They were the first ever to come. Only twice before are sisters mentioned in connection with the sending of marriageable girls to Louisiana, in 1713, when Cadillac arrived, and in 1704. No sisters came with Cadillac; Crozat wrote that the governor's wife was to act as chaperon during the voyage. Incidentally Madame de Lamothe proved unequal to the task. No sisters came in 1704, for the chaperon, Marie Jeanne Masbé, was not a nun, and she only accompanied the girls as far as La Rochelle.

When such a long span of years is taken for one's province, and especially when too much reliance is placed on uncritical, popular accounts, inaccuracies of the kind are bound to creep in. Their presence is doubly regrettable because of the undoubted merits of the work in other respects. In his use of archival material down to 1763, the period on which the present reviewer feels qualified to pass judgment, Mr. Baudier either faithfully quotes or gives a trustworthy résumé of each document. The story of the development of the Church during the French missionary period is well told; and the jurisdictional controversy is for the first time accurately narrated by a layman. In conclusion, it must be remarked that the author evinces a much better grasp

of the situation than is usually found among secular writers who have taken upon themselves to treat with little or no preparation of this phase of Louisiana history.

M. P.-G. Roy, the archivist of the Province of Quebec, issued last year not only his annual report, but also two booklets, two volumes of documents, and the third volume of an index to the papers of the provostship of Quebec. The first booklet is a popular account of French customs transplanted in Canada (*Nos coutumes et nos traditions françaises*, by Pierre-Georges Roy, "Les Editions des Dix," Montreal, 1939, 64 pp.). The author merely recalls some of the customs, many of which have fallen into desuetude; as, for instance, the number of holydays of obligation. They numbered twenty-eight, and adding to these the fifty-two Sundays of the year, we notice that the faithful had to hear Mass eighty times a year unless they preferred to go to jail or to be fined, since to miss Mass on those days was a civil offense. It is interesting to observe too that the churches were not heated even during the severe Canadian winter. A comparison is made between the observance of Lent in olden times and today; in those days every one who was not actually sick in bed, abstained from meat and fasted for forty days. New Year's Day was *the* secular feast, just as Easter was the principal ecclesiastical feast of the year. The well-known *pain bénit* custom was discontinued on account of abuses. Strict episcopal regulations commanded that every child be baptized on the day of its birth; this was the occasion of a colorful cortège, because not only the relatives of the child, but all the friends and acquaintances of its family went to church to witness the ceremony. Among the customs in connection with marriage, mention is made of the *sommations respectueuses*, a custom which was a corollary of the power given to parents over their children by the Roman law then obtaining in New France, and also of the *mariages à la gaumine*, invented by determined lovers to elude the *Tametsi* decree of 1579. Some account is given of the apparel worn in Canada before and after the Conquest, the wig, the hat, the shoes, the scandal-causing *fontange*, the hoop-skirt; a special apron was worn on Sundays by men. To the question whether the Canadians during the Old Régime were superstitious, the author's answer is affirmative. But M. Roy pleads indulgence. He points to scores of fortune tellers doing a thriving business in our own day, owing to the gullibility of twentieth-century ladies and gentlemen who believe in the science dispensed by palmists, clairvoyants, and tea-leaf readers. "Superstitions for superstitions I prefer those of the past to those of the present. At least the former were based on faith, on some religious belief." If some of the superstitions appear naïve, some of the popular remedies are startling. A few are selected from a survey article published in 1934 by M. E. Z. Massicotte. Many of the French customs and traditions spread to other parts of North America where Canadians settled; thus, they could be

found not so very long ago in the Northwest Territory, and specifically in Detroit and in the Illinois country.

Less curious is M. Roy's second booklet (*La Famille De La Porte de Louvigny*, by Pierre-Georges Roy, Lévis, 1939, 47 pp.). In spite of the title, these pages deal with the founder of the Canadian family of that name, and not with the family itself, for the simple reason that "none of his sons distinguished himself, far from it." The procedure followed is the same as that adopted in the numerous other biographical works of the author—a chronological sequence of statements about the personage, with an occasional document quoted at greater length. M. de Louvigny belongs as much to the early history of the United States as he does to that of Canada. He was several times commandant at Michilimackinac, and headed the first army of white men which invaded the Northwest. At the turn of the seventeenth century, Louvigny sent a memoir to the French government outlining a plan for carrying out successfully La Salle's abortive attempt to conquer Mexico and its mines.

The two volumes of documents published by M. Roy contain all the papers which the descendants of the founder of the Lery family in Canada have handed over to the archives of Quebec (*Inventaire des Papiers de Lery conservés aux Archives de la Province de Quebec*, by Pierre-Georges Roy, Quebec, 1939, 2 volumes of 291 pages each). In 1717, the Conseil de Marine, then in charge of the French colonies, sent to Canada the engineer Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Lery, "to draw the plans of the projected public works." After their completion, he was to return to France, which he did; but during his short stay in Canada, he had married a girl of Quebec; and thanks to influential protectors, he asked and obtained leave to return in 1718 to the colony where he remained until his death in 1756. The first volume contains the routine correspondence between Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Lery, Sr., and the Court of France. In the second volume there is much information about his eldest son who played a small part in the history of the section of the United States which was once under French rule. At the age of 19, this son accompanied the Longueil expedition against the Chickasaw. In 1749, he explored the great lakes from Montreal to Detroit, and sent compass-traverses of his route. In 1754, he came to the West again. Diaries and notes of this journey have been published in previous *Rapports*. To him we owe several plans of Detroit and its vicinity, as the town was in the middle of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately there is no index to either of the two volumes, and the letters of the second volume are not arranged according to strict chronological order.

The inventory of the papers composing the registers of the provostship of Quebec is brought to a close with the third volume (*Inventaire des Insinuations de la Prévôté de Québec*, by Pierre-Georges Roy, Quebec, 1939, vol. III, 291 pp.). This institution, the lowest court



that took cognizance of both civil and criminal cases, was founded in 1666, discontinued in 1674, and re-established in May 1677. The papers include edicts of the king, ordinances of intendants and commissions of lower officials, but the bulk of these documents are registered marriage contracts and donations. In the appendix of more than one hundred pages, many examples of registration of donations are given in full. The document printed on pages 208-209 should prove of interest to students of the history of the exploration of the Mississippi Valley. It is a donation to the Recollects of a tract of land, one hundred arpents square, situated near Fort Frontenac, by "Robert Cavelier escuyer S<sup>r</sup> de la Salle Gouverneur pour le Roy du Fort de Frontenacq estant de present en cette ville [Quebec]." The interest of the document dated November 5, 1676, does not consist in its mention of the donation itself, but in the fact that it enables one to fill another gap of the explorer's career before he came to the West.

Margry has a summary of another donation, dated March 22, 1677. As usual, he omitted saying where he had seen the document and where the instrument was drawn. Likely he saw it among the papers of the Recollects which were then and are now in the Archives of the department of Seine-et-Oise, at Versailles. Réveillaud published an extract from this document in the appendix of his edition of the *Histoire chronologique*. Since this donation, too, was made by "Robert Cavelier, sieur de la Salle . . . present en sa personne . . . a Quebec," the question at once arises: did La Salle spend the time between November 1676 and March 1677 in Quebec or at Fort Frontenac? The significance of this question will be readily appreciated.

M. Roy's yearly report as archivist (*Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1938-1939*, Quebec, 1939, 385 pp.) contains a short relation of the fall of Quebec, 1759, and the calendar of the correspondence of the first Archbishop of Quebec by M. Carron. This calendar will not be continued, because "the time has not yet come to probe the secret of the religious events of the country from 1840 on. In years to come, these events will lose their topical character, and then some future archivist will be allowed to scrutinize them." This correspondence contains little that is of interest to students of the history of this country, and nothing at all of interest to those whose main concern is with the colonial period, when New France included not only present-day Canada but one-third of the territory of the United States as well. M. Roy promises to give, in the next report, an inventory of the sources for the religious history of Canada under the French régime, beginning with the year 1621. This inventory, he says in the letter of transmittal to the Minister of the Province of Quebec, "will not fail to shed light on certain points which have remained obscure. In any case this compilation will certainly be of great help to historians who will have it at hand."

Nearly half of the present report is devoted to the correspondence



of Vaudreuil with the French government, including not only the letters sent from Canada to the mother country, but the answers of the officials in France. On this correspondence were based two books published in 1938: one by M. Roy himself and the other by Dr. Hammang as the first part of a thesis. As a first installment, the letters here printed run from November 15, 1703, to November 4, 1706. "A few letters of M. de Vaudreuil have been published in . . . [the] *Documentary History of the State of New York*, but they are nearly always incomplete. We are printing them in full." There are also a few extracts from these letters in volume XXXIII of the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, where they are published in English, as a part of the so-called Cadillac papers. Vaudreuil's term as governor began two years after the founding of Detroit, and he had more than his share of trouble with his subordinate, the pugnacious M. de La mothe Cadillac.

This report will prove as useful as the others which contain Frontenac's and Talon's correspondence. The more we have of such correspondence published in *extenso*, the less excuse will there be for arbitrary interpretations of certain passages wrenched from their context. Without in any way belittling the real service rendered to students by the publication of the letters of Vaudreuil, the present writer may be permitted to suggest that one would naturally expect to see published, after the letters of the great intendant and of the fighting governor, those of Duchesneau and Champigny, who served as intendants during Frontenac's two terms of office. For an adequate understanding of the state of affairs in the colony, of the conflicts of policy, it seems necessary *ut audiat et altera pars*. When this has been done—and M. Roy is thoroughly competent to do it well—students will have in a convenient form the greater part of the basic documentation for the colonial history of the last third of the seventeenth century.

J. D.

## Book Reviews

*In Winter We Flourish: Life and Letters of Sarah Worthington King Peter, 1800-1877.* By Anna Shannon McAllister. Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1939. Pp. xi+398.

This is a biography done along the best conventional lines. No gratuitous psychological interpretation or other devices of the so-called "new biography" mar the effect. On a basis of thoroughgoing research into an unusually ample supply of first-class source-materials the author has reconstructed with sober adherence to fact the life-story of a notable American woman of many contacts and distinct accomplishments in the fields of religious and social service. Obviously one of the prerequisites of an effective biography is adequacy of material; happily the prerequisite was met in the instance in hand. Sarah Peter was a competent letter writer and diarist and her self-revelations in these capacities are significant enough to have made the task of portraying her to the life a relatively easy one for the biographer. All in all, Mrs. McAllister's production achieves a high degree of excellence in interesting, illuminating content and literary technique.

Sarah Worthington King Peter, daughter of Thomas Worthington, Governor of Ohio, entered the Catholic Church in 1855, being then fifty-four and a widow for the second time. She had been married to Edward King, son of Senator Rufus King of New York, and on his demise, to William Peter, British Consul at Philadelphia, a man of culture and scholarly attainments. As a Catholic laywoman Mrs. Peter showed herself an unusually zealous and efficient promoter of the Church's interests. In Cincinnati, where very many of her years were spent, she was a foremost figure in advancing Catholic social welfare work. The Church's religious congregations, both of men and women, were especially dear to her and she had the distinction of introducing a number of them into that city, among them the Sisters of Mercy, the Little Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, the Religious of the Sacred Heart, and the Passionist Fathers. In this particular field of endeavor her gifts of address, her ability to meet and deal with ecclesiastical authorities and solicit funds effectively, enabled her to achieve a striking record of success.

But Mrs. Peter's interests were by no means narrowly religious. She was a figure and a striking one in the social and cultural life of the communities in which she lived. While a resident of Philadelphia she founded on behalf of young women a school of design in the industrial arts, the first institution of its kind in the United States. At Cincinnati she established the Ladies Academy of Art, out of which developed the Cincinnati Academy of Fine Arts and School of Design, which in turn was one of the nuclei of the Cincinnati Art Museum. Her

talent for social leadership was put to good account in her various enterprises for raising the artistic and cultural tone of the community. Her house, wrote the Comtesse de Chambrun, became "as near an approach to the literary and artistic *salon* as was seen in America" (p. 210). Meantime, in various trips to Europe—she made five and was preparing for a sixth when death intervened—she made helpful contacts with outstanding lay and ecclesiastical personages of the day, including Pius IX, who was impressed by her forceful and enterprising as well as deeply spiritual character. Such was the life of Sarah King Peter, many-sided, distinguished, beneficent, colorful, rich in biographical possibilities.

Mrs. McAllister is to be congratulated on her skill in assembling and utilizing the material with which she worked. If the essence of biography, as Sir Sidney Lee would have it, is the truthful transmission of personality, the volume under review must be said to have hit the biographer's target squarely and effectively. In it the personality of a notable woman, who served both Church and state with the finest results, is set before us with engaging realism. One comes from the reading of these pages with the conviction that here of a certainty was a woman so fashioned, so radiant of wholesome influence that the world was in palpable ways the nobler and the better for her having lived.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN

*Dictionary of the American Hierarchy.* By Rev. Joseph Bernard Code, Sc. Hist. D. Longmans, Green and Company, New York, Toronto, 1940. Pp. xxii+425.

In these days, when factual information seems to be the chief concern of teachers and pupils in schools, Father Code's *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy* should be received with at least three cheers. It is a "ready-reference" work, of the type dearly beloved of American librarians, since it gives them quickly and with a minimum of labor the bare bones of fact which form the principal mental pabulum of the librarians' customers. It presents, in alphabetical order, skeleton sketches of more than five hundred American bishops, somewhat in the fashion of a Who's Who.

Father Code has done his task accurately, neatly, and modestly, and has produced an excellent reference book. If he has, quite properly, kept in mind the hasty needs of bare-fact hunters, he has also generously enriched his book with plenty of bibliographical leads, and with no less than eleven comparative and analytical lists. The Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Cicognani, contributes an edifying and scholarly introduction.

The less hurried reader can find some good digging material here. He can discover, for instance, that of the five hundred or so American bishops considerably more than half were foreign-born, of whom a

solid hundred hailed from Ireland, more than the total of French, German, Belgian, and English bishops combined.

W. KANE

*Pope's Digest 1815.* Edited by Francis S. Philbrick. Two volumes. The Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield, 1938, 1940.

These two volumes are a new edition of *Laws of the Territory of Illinois Revised and Digested under the Authority of the Legislature* by Nathaniel Pope and printed at Kaskaskia in 1815. They are volumes XXVIII and XXX of *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library, which *Collections* are under the general editorship of Theodore C. Pease. They are Volume IV of the Law Series. To avoid all difficulty for students who wish to cite this work in the future it will be most convenient to catalogue it as we have taken the liberty to do at the head of this review. Since there is nothing to criticize about the two volumes but the non-essentials this reviewer's remarks are to be taken as trite and in no way as disparaging the useful labor that has been expended on the essential portions of the work at hand. The back of the book has Illinois Historical Collections; the first title page has Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library; another page has *Laws of the Illinois Territory*, while the following has *Laws of the Territory of Illinois*, etc., as given above. At first blush something seems radically askew in the general index. For instance, the index gives: Cattle, branding of, I:117; turning to volume I, page 117, we find laws about divorce. We know that Paul Angle under whose direction the index was prepared does not make mistakes of the kind, and hence in solving the puzzle we find each page with two numbers. While this may easily be condoned, it would not be right to excuse the typographical errors in the text. The introduction by Professor Philbrick is in sixty-five carefully annotated pages. It is an exceedingly useful background study of the life of Nathaniel Pope and of the development and revisions of the Illinois Territory statutes.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

*The Wars of the Iroquois.* By George T. Hunt. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1940. Pp. 209.

This is a study of intertribal relations. The thesis of the book is that the cause of the wars waged by the Iroquois was trade rivalry. As soon as beaver disappeared from their territory the Iroquois in order to survive were obliged to act as middlemen between the other tribes and the whites and in consequence were under the necessity either of forcing the other Indians to trade through them or of conquering and exploiting the territory themselves. This thesis is by no means new, for C. H. McIlwain clearly established it a quarter of a century ago. The intervention of Providence in human affairs is eliminated as a

medieval concept, and the Jesuits have much to do with the origin of the concept. Mr. Hunt remarks: "Probably nine-tenths of the material written about them [the Iroquois] was written by Jesuit priests, who, while competent and careful reporters of fact, were often mistaken in their interpretation of cause and result. After all, the truly clerical mind did not concern itself overmuch with cause and result, for there was one cause to which could be ascribed all things difficult to understand, mysterious Providence and the hand of God. . . . The Jesuits were keen men but comparatively simple in the humanities, and they hated and feared the Iroquois above all things" (p. 165). However simple the Jesuits were in the humanities, not a few of them had found out long before 1940 that selfishness was the prime motive of the Indians in their dealings with red and white man alike. The simplicity of the Jesuits seems rather to have consisted in this, that they did not exclude the intervention of Providence by advocating the less simple but more shallow theory known as the "economic interpretation of history." The present writer would be the last to deny the great part played by economic factors in the Iroquois wars; those who rule out other factors, such as the intervention of Providence, have never proved the truth of their contention.

Another shortcoming of the "clerical mind" as pictured by Mr. Hunt is its inconsistency. Twice we are told (p. 40 and p. 188) that Lalemant when writing to Richelieu, "put the sole responsibility for the deaths [among the Hurons] upon the Iroquois, whereas in writing to Vitelleschi, four days later, he attributed them solely to the plague." The inconsistency here is far from obvious, for the fact is that Lalemant says the same thing to the Cardinal and to the General of the Jesuits. To Richelieu: "On en [Hurons] a baptisé dans les maladies extraordinaires [scilicet the plague] qui sont survenues plus de mille dont au moins plusieurs petits enfants s'en sont envolés au ciel." To Vitelleschi: "Ex moribundis [from the plague] baptisati sunt plus 1000, inter quos infantes plurimi vitam infelicem felici morte praevenērunt." Nor is there any inconsistency in the other passage of the letter to Richelieu to which the reader is referred. Lalemant does not put the sole responsibility for the deaths among the Hurons upon the Iroquois, for he says: "*Les entreprises de ces nations ennemies [Iroquois] leur ayant, particulièrement depuis quelques années, réussi à souhait, ils ont réduit ces pauvres peuples icy [Hurons] à un tel point, que je ne croy pas que, si on n'arreste le mal en sa source, il[s] puissent plus longtemps subsister; c'est ce qu'on accordera facilement si on considère qu'en moins de dix ans, ils se trouvent réduits du nombre de trente mille âmes à celui de dix mille; de sorte que si par le passé, dans la multitude qu'ils étoient, ils n'ont pu résister à leurs ennemis, qu'en pouvons nous espérer à l'avenir?*"

The question hinges on the sense of the italicized clauses, and specifically on the sense of the verb *réduire* in both contexts. In the



first instance it means "to subdue," in the second "to diminish." Since in the past, when the Hurons numbered 30,000, they were unable to resist the Iroquois, how will they be able to resist them now that they are only one-third of their former number? There is absolutely nothing in the text to suggest that this diminution was caused solely or even mainly by the Iroquois; on the contrary, three paragraphs above, Lalemant distinctly speaks of the "maladies extraordinaires qui sont survenues," during which the mortality among the Hurons was so great that the Jesuits baptized more than one thousand of the stricken Indians.

It is unfortunate that, in a work in which there is so much to commend, the author seems to have made a point of parading his anti-clerical bias; as, for instance, on page 185: "Partially, perhaps, because Charlevoix was himself a cleric and surrounded by clerical influences, and partially because the sources were not readily available to him, his view of the Iroquois is as astigmatic as that of his brothers of the previous century, or that of Francis Parkman of the century following him. The *Jesuit Relations* had not been printed when he wrote, and although he consulted them he seems to have had difficulty with his chronology." The meaning of the last statement can hardly be that the *Jesuit Relations* remained in manuscript until the Canadian government or Thwaites published them; for the *Relations de la Nouvelle-France* were already in print when Charlevoix wrote, and it is curious to find this anachronism in a passage which takes the Jesuit historian to task for his lapse in chronology.

The necessity of recurring to sources and of critically appraising them is more than once emphasized, and rightly so. "In many cases a simple citation is plainly insufficient, for the nature of the document to which reference is made, the author or authors and the date and place of writing are often of great importance in determining the weight of evidence" (p. 188). Not only is this policy of great importance, it is essential. But unfortunately, Mr. Hunt seems to have lost sight of its importance in the pages dealing with La Salle (pp. 147 f.). The *Relation* to which he so often refers was not written by the explorer; it is a memoir composed by Claude Bernou on letters of La Salle. It would have been advisable also to criticize the statement of Tonti (p. 153), with regard to the number of Indians clustered around Starved Rock. The two memoirs of Tonti do not agree on this point, and it is difficult to reconcile what he says in the first memoir about the coming of the Miami with what La Salle wrote from Chicago, in June 1683; and the numbers found on Franquelin's map which were given to the map-maker by La Salle himself, are not consistent with the explorer's own statements in the same letter written from Chicago.

The contemporary maps which place the Mascouten in southern Michigan as late as 1660 are not authoritative (p. 111), insofar as that year is concerned, for they contain out-of-date information with regard

to the location of these Indians and are all based on Champlain's map of 1632. This last, in turn expresses cartographically the location of the Assistaguéronons (Asistagueroûon, in Champlain's text) as told to Champlain, in 1616, by the Cheveux-Relevés. From the spelling of the name of the tribe and its location on Sanson's map of 1656—the basis of the other two maps mentioned—it is clear that the geographer made use of two sources: Champlain's map and the *Jesuit Relations*, specifically of the *Relation* of 1641-1642, where it is said that the habitat of the Atsistaehronons is to the west of the Neuter Nation.

Mr. Hunt seems to have fully realized the necessity of weighing the evidence, but, he observes, "to give full particulars in each case would make citation itself a monumental task" (p. 188). Nevertheless, unless sufficiently full particulars be given, a writer will be only too likely to repeat what is found in literary essays; and unless statements rest on definite and valid evidence, unsupported assertions such as the following will be multiplied: "The Jesuits hated La Salle, whose imperial schemes could not be reconciled with the Jesuit dream of a pastoral and unexploited Indian interior, ruled over by the church, and La Salle repaid their hatred with interest, and was loud in his accusations regarding the venality of the priesthood" (p. 153). It would be interesting to see on what valid evidence the alleged hatred of the Jesuits for La Salle rests, and precisely what were La Salle's imperial schemes. If one takes the trouble of examining his accusations of venality, one finds that their only distinctive mark is their loudness. As for La Salle's matchless skill in handling the natives, the evidence given by Mr. Hunt (p. 154), is not very impressive—three Iroquois took to flight when La Salle surrounded by Frenchmen, Mohicans, and other New England Indians met them at the Miami villages.

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*Turkey at the Straits.* By James T. Shotwell and Francis Deák. Macmillan Company, New York, 1940. Pp. xii+196.

This is an excellent survey from the historical and diplomatic viewpoint of one of the ancient and ever present problem of European history, the question of the control of the connecting waters between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean and of the land routes on the south between Europe and Asia. The emphasis is placed on the more recent treaties, protocols, conventions, and pacts which have kept statesmen quite well employed. Four appendices of a documentary nature cover some forty pages; a serviceable bibliography, two good maps, a chronological index, and a general index are very helpful. The book is timely in view of the current struggle for power in Europe; it lays a fundamental background in giving a description of the power politics revolving around the key position; it offers sufficient evidence to show that even after the present ordeal by fire and blood will have

run its course the politics of the future will continue to include within their scope the Bosphorus, Marmara, and the Dardanelles. The authors of *Turkey at the Straits* are well-fitted to present such a survey and guide. Dr. Shotwell whose authoritativeness has brought him to many prominent posts relevant to international relations has been for years Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Francis Deák, a colleague of Shotwell at Columbia University but member of the Law faculty, is known as a writer on international law and international relations.

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